

BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY'S
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VOL. XXXI

Documents illustrating
THE OVERSEAS TRADE
OF BRISTOL
in the Sixteenth Century

**BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY'S
PUBLICATIONS**

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VOL. XXXI

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in the Sixteenth Century

For
Ian Higton

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EDITED BY
JEAN VANES

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A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

In this book the aim has been to show as wide a variety of mercantile activity and as varied a collection of documents as possible. Limitations of time and space have meant that many documents are cut or calendared since the main concern was to illustrate the story rather than to display or discuss the form of the documents. Where only part of a document is used the word "from" appears before the reference. All editorial additions are in italics, as are the names of ships.

Dating is Old Style throughout except that the year has been taken to begin on the 1st January. The spelling is that of the scribe and abbreviations are extended in his usual form where that is known. Obvious slips of the pen have been corrected. Capital letters, i and j, u and v have been modernised and punctuation has been added where the sense seemed to require it. Notes on weights, measures and currency will be found at the end of the glossary.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

A.D.G.	Archives Départementales de la Gironde.
A.H.G.	<i>Archives Historiques de la Gironde.</i>
Ann. Midi	<i>Annales du Midi.</i>
A.P.C.	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England.</i>
B.A.O.	Bristol Archives Office.
B.B.C.S.	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.</i>
B.G.A.S.	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.</i>
B.M.	British Museum.
B.R.L.	Bristol Reference Library.
B.R.S.	<i>Bristol Record Society.</i>
Cal. Pat.	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office.</i>
Cal. S.P. Dom.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.</i>
Cal. S.P. For.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series.</i>
D.N.B.	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
Ec.H.R.	<i>Economic History Review.</i>
E.H.R.	<i>English Historical Review.</i>
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
L.P.	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII.</i>
P.C.C.	Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
R.H.Bx.	<i>Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde.</i>
T.E.D.	<i>Tudor Economic Documents, eds. R. H. Tawney and E. Power.</i>
T.R.H.S.	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</i>

INTRODUCTION

1. *Sources.*

It used to be said that little evidence remained for the history of sixteenth century Bristol. This has even been called the 'Dark Ages' of Bristol's history. Nothing could be further from the truth and it is hoped that this book will begin to demonstrate the wealth of material available. Two books are planned on the overseas trade of the port, of which this one deals with the main areas of trade, commodities and commercial methods and the general trends of Bristol trade throughout the century. The other will be based on the life of the merchant, including his apprenticeship, his work as a factor or agent abroad, his adventures in war and peace, ship-owning, partnerships and merchant companies, the merchant's home and family and his part in local affairs.

Sixteenth century commentators took the view that there had been a serious decline in the prosperity of the town and that this was due partly to the decay of the local cloth industry and partly to the declining trade of the port. Successive appeals from various sixteenth century mayors to the Privy Council can be found in the State Papers at the Public Record Office¹ and in the Lansdowne and Harleian Manuscripts at the British Museum,² though, as they were usually seeking favoured treatment or tax concessions, these Jeremiads can hardly be accepted at face value. The historian seeks also the statistics of trade which are to be found in the various customs accounts of the period at the Public Record Office.

Enough of the volumes of the Particulars of Account, E 122, and the Port Books, E 190, survive to build up a very comprehensive picture of the main areas and trends of trade throughout the century, but to convey that to the reader would entail the reproduction of several of the volumes, which would make a book in itself. Instead, as well as a few brief extracts,³ the figures in App. 1 of the numbers of ships in the port and in App. 6 and 7 of the ports of origin and destination of voyages are based on these volumes. For overall trends the statistics in App. 3, 4 and 5 of cloth exports, wine imports and customs valuations for poundage are based on the summaries of the customs receipts in the Enrolled Accounts of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, E 356. These rolls are complete for

¹ Documents 1, 7, 9.

² Documents 10, 13, 14.

³ Documents 41, 178, 179, 183.

the port of Bristol from 1485 to 1547. Most of those for the reigns of Edward and Mary are too fragmentary to be available for use, but for the reign of Elizabeth the rolls are again complete except for the years 1585 to 1590 when the customs dues of the port were farmed by Walsingham. Thus it is possible to compile detailed statistics of trade throughout the century with comparatively few gaps.

The question of the accuracy of these accounts has been much debated⁴ and there is certainly a great deal of evidence of under-recording in the port of Bristol. A table compiled from the accusations brought against Bristol men in the Exchequer Court and recorded in the Memoranda Rolls of the King's Remembrancer, E 159, can modify quite considerably any statistics drawn from the customs accounts.⁵ Many other documents indicate the widespread incidence of smuggling and the corruption of officials in the port. Examples are found not only in the Memoranda Rolls, but also in State Papers⁶ and in the Lansdowne MSS.⁷ as well as in the records of merchants like John Smythe and Robert and William Tyndall.⁸ Such is the quantity of this material that it seems that at certain times and in certain commodities the degree of under-recording in the sixteenth century port of Bristol must have reached 50%.

However, though "one must count", statistics alone can never suffice if history is to be the study of the reactions of men to events. Countless individuals make the statistics and are in turn affected by them. Thus, in studying the areas of trade, the stories of individual merchants become relevant and the records of the various courts provide a different kind of evidence. Petitions and answers, in detailing the minutiae of trade as the background to a dispute, describe loans and purchases, charter parties and other contracts, but it has always to be remembered that these are records of transactions that have broken down. This is, perhaps the pathology of trade, whereas the customs accounts and records like the John Smythe Ledger⁹ chart its normal course. The Memoranda Rolls themselves give details of ships, merchants and the goods which formed the staples of each country's trade. The Courts of Chancery, Requests and Star Chamber often dealt with cases of debt, fraud, broken contracts, lost or non-existent records and agreements made abroad.¹⁰ A number of maritime causes were heard in the Court of Requests, perhaps only because Dr. Caesar

⁴ E. M. Carus Wilson, "Etudes faites depuis 1945 sur les 'Customs Accounts' Anglais au Moyen Age", M. M. Postan, "Etudes Anglaises sur les Customs Accounts", *Les Sources de l'histoire Maritime en Europe du Moyen Age au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. M. Mollat (Paris, 1962) 321-43. Verlinden expressed doubts about the value of the customs accounts, pp. 345-6. Prof. Carus Wilson replied to this in an appendix to *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford, 1963), 201-7.

⁵ Appendix 2. Documents 15, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28, 33.

⁶ Documents 29, 24, 36.

⁷ Documents 23, 31, 32, 34.

⁸ Documents 27, 133.

⁹ *The Ledger of John Smythe, 1538-1550* (J. Vanes, ed.), B.R.S. XXVII (1975).

¹⁰ Documents 70, 95, 103, 115, 120, 121, 166, 170, 180 for example.

sometimes sat there, but most maritime and overseas cases came to the High Court of Admiralty, where not only petitions, answers and interrogatories remain, but also a good deal of supporting evidence and long depositions from witnesses which often detail all the background of a dispute.¹¹ Schedules of ships and cargo lost, either by piracy or wreck are particularly useful in showing the main commodities of trade since, though the minimum amount might be entered in the custom house, a maximum was probably recorded in any claim for compensation.¹² Some Admiralty Court papers, such as those concerning William Colston, are found in Dr. Caesar's note books in the Lansdowne Manuscripts.¹³

Few personal papers of sixteenth century Bristol merchants now remain. The John Smythe Ledger is not now complemented by any other commercial documents. A scrappy "shop-book" is all the evidence remaining of the dealings of William Appowell and that is for 1558, when he had ceased trading overseas.¹⁴ Some records remain in the Tyndall papers in the bundles of documents from the Parish Church of St. John the Baptist, now in the Bristol Archives. Among them are a few documents concerning the Spanish trade, a charter party, a customs cocket, some fragments of accounts, a copy of a French notarial deed from Bordeaux, some obligations and recognisances and similar commercial papers.¹⁵ There are also a great many wills, both in the Great Orphan Book at Bristol and in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, now at the Public Record Office,¹⁶ but few of them are very informative about trade. The other records in the Bristol Archives form a useful framework, the Chamberlain's Accounts and the Apprentice Books start in 1532, the enrolments in the Great White Book include several sixteenth century petitions and letters, while the Ordinance Book and the Common Council Minutes show the main topics with which the City Fathers were concerned through these years and the trade of the port and the maintenance of the harbour and waterways necessarily loom large.¹⁷

In Bordeaux, one of Bristol's main trading partners, there remain few official records of trade. Those accounts of the "Comptable" which survive for 1482-3 and 1589-90 provide only a limited picture, since they are mainly concerned with the export of wine and give no idea of the total cargo and certainly no indication of the tonnage of each ship.¹⁸ There were problems of evasion at Bordeaux, as

¹¹ Documents 49, 50, 158, 171. Sir Julius Caesar, *D.N.B.*

¹² Documents 45, 46, 140.

¹³ Documents 56, 57.

¹⁴ Documents 123, B.A.O. DC/A/6/3/38.

¹⁵ Documents 138-9, 146-8, 173 etc.

¹⁶ T. P. Wadley (ed.), *Notes or Abstracts of the Wills contained in the Volume entitled the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills* (Bristol, 1886), Documents 52, 116, 155, 156.

¹⁷ B.A.O. 04026(1-14), 04352(1), 04721, 04272, 04264(1).

¹⁸ *Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, 1. Régistre de la comptable de Bordeaux 1482-1483 (Bordeaux and Paris, 1915), 1-166. A.D.G. C 4090. Documents 58, 59.

elsewhere, and the archives there contain a sixteenth century document entitled "Les Mille Manières de Frauder la Comptable".¹⁹ During the winter of 1482-3 only 3 Bristol ships are recorded as having left with wine out of 49 English ships exporting wine that year, while just over a century later there were six Bristol ships out of 131 from all English ports. Bristol merchants frequently chartered ships from other ports, particularly Bretons, so that such figures are not a good indication of the prosperity of the Bristol wine trade. Statistics collected by the English government are no less fragmentary and inaccurate.²⁰

The record books of the Bordeaux notaries, though they can give no indication of the amount of trade at any one time, form a superb mine of information on commercial practice.²¹ It is probable that only a small proportion of the registers has survived, many ships sailed under ballast or without a written agreement. A written covenant with a merchant's mark or seal was equally binding and even a verbal contract and the payment of the 'God's penny' was legally enforceable. Many agreements were made for a voyage and the return so that a foreign ship might arrive in Bordeaux or La Rochelle, unload, pick up her cargo and depart, leaving no trace.²² Thus, the registers cannot determine when some innovation first appeared or for how long it remained the usual practice or how generally it was used. Nor can they provide the basis for a statistical survey. Some notaries kept two registers, a book of rough statements, the appropriately named "brouillard", and a book of master copies. Failure to copy some items, negligent copying, lack of dates or of folio numbers in some of the volumes, sometimes the binding of various small books out of order in one large register, and the changes of language and handwriting from one folio to the next, all make any attempt at quantitative evaluation dangerous.²³ Notaries were often very busy men, working at speed in a noisy cluttered office, interviewing strange seamen in a foreign language. "Le formulaire", Professor Bernard notes, "porte la marque de cette précipitation, non seulement dans son écriture extrêmement cursive et capricieuse, mais dans son composition même". The result is sometimes "un désordre inextricable".²⁴ He concludes "qu'il faut renoncer dans ce domaine à tout espoir d'atteindre une évaluation statistique, ou même un ordre de grandeur".²⁵

The registers are extremely valuable, however, in that they deal with

¹⁹ G. Caster, "Les problèmes financiers des exportateurs", *Ann. Midi*, lxxviii (1956), 308 and n. 4.

²⁰ Document 59, B.M. Lansdowne MS. 14/32.

²¹ J. Bernard, *Navires et Gens de Mer à Bordeaux* (Paris, 1968), i. 7-12.

²² E. Trocmé and M. Delafosse, *Le Commerce Rochelais de la fin de XV^e siècle au début du XVII^e* (Paris, 1952), 69-71.

²³ J. Bernard, "Formulaires de notaires du Bordelais à la fin du XV^e siècle", *Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, ii (1957), 389-406.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 398.

²⁵ J. Bernard, *Navires et Gens de Mer à Bordeaux*, i. 6.

every aspect of normal trade. There are cases of disputes, but also charter parties in great numbers, loans, bills of exchange, guarantees of quality, agreements for the supply of wine, woad and cloth, the purchase of ships and even a contract between Bristol merchants and a shipwright of St. Jean de Luz for the construction there of a new ship. The registers form the basis of the study of trade with France and some of these documents are calendared in Chapter 4. A few are printed in French to retain a little of the flavour of the original and to give some slight idea of the development of the language at Bordeaux during the century.²⁶

It would certainly be possible to find such material in other Continental ports, though not in such quantity for Bristol merchants,²⁷ and there there is no lack of evidence about Bristol's trade with the Spanish and Irish ports in the customs accounts, the John Smythe ledger, State Papers and the records of the Courts. State Papers show the deterioration in Anglo-Spanish relations from the letters of Hugh Tipton to his master in the 1530s to the capture of English ships in the Azores and the imprisonment of Tyndall and Frampton. Finally, the Port Books make very clear the use of foreign carriers and shipmasters to keep open the trade to enemy ports, as well as the search for new markets to supplement the old.

2. SIXTEENTH CENTURY TRADE – PROBLEMS OF THE EVIDENCE

The citizens of Bristol had no doubt that the wealth of their city and its trade declined in the sixteenth century, though various reasons were suggested at different times. In 1530, when the town was seeking exemption from prisage, it was said to be the growth of the rural cloth industry which was causing Bristol to be “yerely fallyng more and more into ruyn and decaye”.²⁸ In 1538, the Mayor begged for the use of stone from the buildings of the Grey Friars to repair derelict houses and to build a wharf,²⁹ which suggests that the population had not even then recovered from successive visitations of plague. An Act of Parliament in 1540 placed Bristol in a long list of towns where “many beautiful houses of habitation within the walles . . . nowe arre fallen downe decayed . . .”.³⁰ In 1543, a petition of many of the merchants and craftsmen of the town blamed the Candlemas Fair at Redcliffe for their loss of trade.³¹ It was probably increased trading difficulties which caused the Merchants' Company to appeal in 1552 and again in 1566 for a monopoly of overseas trade, but the Act of Parliament

²⁶ Documents 63-8, 71-6, 81-94, 96-102, 105-6, 108-10.

²⁷ Professor Connell Smith used notaries' records in Seville. G. Connell Smith, *Forerunners of Drake: a study of English trade with Spain in the early Tudor Period* (1954).

²⁸ Document 1.

²⁹ *L.P.* xiii (2), 322.

³⁰ 32 Henry VIII c. 18, *Statutes of the Realm*, iii, 768.

³¹ Document 2.

which confirmed the 1566 charter was repealed in 1571.³² The Tuckers, complaining against the merchants in 1568, gave several reasons for the fall in trade. They were concerned primarily with the effects on the town of the merchants' monopoly, but they noted also the freighting of foreign rather than Bristol-owned ships and the recent loss of 8 ships usually employed in the French trade. They disapproved strongly of the large number of (for them) unproductive voyages to Newfoundland which provided no market for their expensive cloth. They criticised the customs officials' demands for immediate payment, whereas merchants had been used to receive credit and they blamed the prevalent high prices of foodstuffs on the new impost on wines and the illegal export of much corn and butter.³³

Towards the end of the century it was unnecessary for observers to look further than the evils of war and piracy and the greed of the Londoners to find sufficient cause for the decay of the western ports. In 1576, a petition presented to the Queen by Leicester on the city's behalf complained of their considerable losses at sea³⁴ and Leicester, as High Steward of Bristol, continued to show concern over the state of west country trade. On 6th April, 1587, he wrote from Bath to both Walsingham and Burghley of the "great decay of trade and distress in the country. Bristol, Hampton and other of the best towns are fast falling to decay. Measures must be taken for the revival of trade".³⁵ Burghley, in particular, had long been aware of the problem and was pondering its causes. In 1581 he noted that, "it is trew that many Western touns ar decayed, as Bristoll and such lyke, so (it) is not to be forgotten whyther London hath not engrossed all ther trades not so much for wynes, but even for the Welsh frezees that com over the Severn not farr from Bristow".³⁶

A number of Bristol merchants found themselves in difficulties during the second half of the century. Giles White, later taken prisoner by the Spaniards, ordered his factors to insure his goods, both imports and exports.³⁷ There were several bankruptcies and licences were granted for the export of corn or for a share of confiscated Spanish goods to those who had suffered loss.³⁸ Robert Tyndall was said to be "fallen into decaie and povertye and was relyved in the house by the mother and father lawe of Margaret (his wife) and so died in the same house".³⁹ On the other hand, studies of the wills of Bristol merchants in

³² *Cal Pat. 1550-1553*, 258. J. Latimer, *The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol* (Bristol, 1903), 52. P. V. McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol* (Bristol, 1975), 10-16.

³³ F. F. Fox and J. Taylor, *Some Account of the Guild of Weavers in Bristol* (Bristol, 1889), 92-3.

³⁴ Document 3.

³⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Elizabeth*, 200/5.

³⁶ S.P. 12/41/58 printed in R. H. Tawney and E. Power (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents*, ii, 127.

³⁷ P.C.C. 18 Crymes, the will of Giles White.

³⁸ Documents 4-9.

³⁹ B.A.O. P. St J.B./Misc. 146, 240.

the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth show that many were able to amass modest fortunes during these years, so that it would seem that trade was by no means at a standstill, at least in the last years of the century.⁴⁰

An ordinance of the City Council in 1595 seems to indicate an attempt to share such trade as there was, but no evidence has been found of its enforcement.⁴¹ In Bristol in 1597 and again early in 1598, the Mayor and Aldermen prepared petitions for Lord Burghley describing "the great misery and calamity . . . within this citie of Bristol by reason of the want of trade into the partes of Spayne and Portugal". They paint a horrifying picture of master clothiers forced to beg from door to door, the harbour empty of ships, the customs dues and taxes unpaid. One imagines that the old Lord Treasurer had long since learned how much salt was needed with such a tale. The Bristol men again blamed the Londoners who monopolised overseas markets, even bringing their goods to Bristol for sale and carrying off local products, such as local cloth, Welsh iron and Mendip lead and calamine. The Bristol merchants begged for a licence to trade with Venice and Turkey, paying dues to the Levant Company.⁴²

Complaints against London date at least from 1542, but in the difficult financial circumstances of Elizabeth's reign, the increasing dominance of London was inevitable. Improved shipbuilding and river navigation made the Thames easier of access and London's export duties brought in more than half of all the customs revenue.⁴³ Borrowing at Antwerp, difficult during the 1560s, became impossible during the crisis of 1569-1570 and it was then essential for Elizabeth to turn to her own merchants.⁴⁴ The financial demands of the war years made the Crown dependent on the City. Professor Stone speaks of the "weakness of the Crown against these indispensable financial magnates",⁴⁵ and Professor Ashton points out that "the growing concentration of liquid wealth in the capital was a development which was not inconvenient to the government as a borrower". He recalls the connection from the Middle Ages between Royal borrowing and the grant of economic privileges and links this with the "familiar theme of the expansion of London's commerce at the expense of, or at the very least, disproportionate to that of the out ports".⁴⁶ By 1600 the link was very clear. The Levant Company's charter was renewed as a London

⁴⁰ P. McGrath, "The Wills of Bristol Merchants in the Great Orphan Books", *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, lxviii (1949), 91-109.

⁴¹ Document 12.

⁴² Documents 13 and 14.

⁴³ F. C. Dietz, *English Public Finance 1558-1641* (New York, 1932), 312.

⁴⁴ R. B. Outhwaite, "The Trials of Foreign Borrowing: the English Crown and the Antwerp Money Market in the Mid-Sixteenth Century", *Ec.H.R.* 2nd ser. xix (1966), 289-95, 303-5. F. C. Dietz, *English Public Finance*, 26-7.

⁴⁵ L. Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, 1956), 71.

⁴⁶ R. Ashton, *The Crown and the Money Market 1603-1640* (Oxford, 1960), 16-17, 70-1.

monopoly in spite of Bristol's petitions, on the promise of an annual payment to the Crown of £4,000.⁴⁷ War increased the wealth of the Londoners in other ways, for instance the Muscovy Company's monopoly of naval stores and the placing of contracts for clothing and victuals for the army with London suppliers, while their great ships and considerable reserves of capital gave the London merchants a strong advantage over their provincial rivals in trade and privateering.⁴⁸ Again the truth of Pollard's dictum is illustrated – that "Tudor despotism consisted largely in London's dominance over the rest of England".⁴⁹

The Bristol merchants in 1598, faced with fresh demands from the Council, begged to be excused. They blamed the greed of the Londoners for their own poverty and, after detailing once more all the causes of their city's decay, they described its present state in funereal terms. "The cheif marchantes (already rich) feeling smale hope to better their estate, by contynueing here, bestowe their moneys in Country purchases and withdrew thither. Their widows and daughters married hence have transported greate porcions with them. The meaner sortes of marchantes have either consumed what they have formerly gott or (in best event) doe but breath out a present time without any advantage. And the generall Artizan lyves without any certayne or profitable ymployment".⁵⁰ In the face of such outpourings of contemporary gloom, few historians still maintain a belief in Bristol's sixteenth century greatness. Only Professor Jordan speaks of "the immense commercial exploits of the sixteenth century", a time when Bristol "possessed all the characteristics of what an American must call a boom town".⁵¹ Rather one might agree with Professor MacInnes who suggested that the apparent period of "comparative stagnation in the reign of Elizabeth" was in fact, a time of "preparation for the great achievements that were to come".⁵²

The evidence of the customs goes far to support such a view. "These figures, too precise to be accurate, too official to be entirely false",⁵³ provide a series throughout the century which can be modified by such knowledge as we have of the level of under-recording to provide a reasonably reliable guide to the main trends.

⁴⁷ A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (1949), 36.

⁴⁸ K. R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering* (Cambridge, 1964), 141, 228. A. H. Dodd, "Mr. Myddelton, the merchant of Tower Street", in *Elizabethan Government and Society*, 254-5.

⁴⁹ E. J. Davis, "The Transformation of London", in *Tudor Studies*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson, (1924), 287.

⁵⁰ B.R.L. 25306, microfilm of the Merchant Venturers' Book of Trade, f. 37.

⁵¹ W. K. Jordan, *The forming of the Charitable Institutions of the West of England ... 1488-1660*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new ser. 1(8), p. 7 (Philadelphia, 1960).

⁵² C. M. MacInnes, 'Bristol and Overseas Expansion', in *Bristol and its Adjoining Counties*, ed. C. M. MacInnes and W. F. Whittard, British Association for the Advancement of Science (Bristol, 1955), 210.

⁵³ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1973) 351, commenting on figures of food consumption at Constantinople.

For the collection of duty, Bristol was the head port for the whole of the Severn estuary. For much of the sixteenth century, Bridgwater accounted separately, as did Gloucester for the last two decades. Chepstow and the coast of Wales were controlled by the Earls of Worcester and Pembroke and it seems that the only dues collected there were the small sums paid to the earls' stewards,⁵⁴ except for Lord Treasurer Winchester's attempt to enforce full payment there early in Elizabeth's reign.⁵⁵ The port survey recorded 59 pills, creeks and harbours, so that it was quite impossible to police the whole area. Local tidewaiters became lazy or corrupt and small boats were pulled up to the banks at night and laden direct from the fields with corn or leather, which might be exported at once on a coastal cocket or carried to larger ships waiting in the roadsteads.⁵⁶ Even in Bristol itself, ships were laden or discharged secretly at night, prohibited goods were exported unlicensed and aliens' goods were "coloured" by native merchants to avoid higher taxes.⁵⁷ There were many complaints of negligence and corruption against customs men⁵⁸ and they in their turn complained of the threats and violence they suffered when searching ships or seizing contraband goods.⁵⁹

In the first half of the century, duties were low and the evidence of smuggling perhaps negligible, but in 1558 a new book of rates was issued which raised the rates of duty to take account of the mid-century rise in prices.⁶⁰ N. S. B. Gras thought that the new rates were on average about 75% higher but T. S. Willan places the figure at over 100%,⁶¹ though officials believed that many commodities were still undervalued and this was certainly true at the end of the century. As well as the changes in valuations, the rates of duty on Bristol's staple commodities were considerably increased. Exported cloth which before 1558 was taxed at 1s. 2d. for a short cloth, now paid 6s. 8d. and tonnage on wine was raised from 3s. to 53s. 4d. a ton.⁶² Wine also paid prisage which was 5s. more a ton at Bristol than at any other port⁶³ and this led to the landing of cargoes in other ports from Cornwall to Wales, as well as false declarations and even violence.⁶⁴ Customs farmers, monopolies, purveyance, the increasing number of prohibited exports and war, which cut off whole areas of trade, made smuggling

⁵⁴ W. R. B. Robinson, "Dr. Thomas Phaer's report on the Harbours and Customs Administration of Wales under Edward VI", *B.B.C.S.* xxiv (1970-2), 485-503. W. R. B. Robinson, "The establishment of Royal Customs in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire under Elizabeth I", *B.B.C.S.* xxiii (1968-70), 348-9, 350.

⁵⁵ Document 24.

⁵⁶ Document 15.

⁵⁷ Documents 18, 20, 35.

⁵⁸ Document 33.

⁵⁹ Documents 29, 31, 32.

⁶⁰ T. S. Willan, *A Tudor Book of Rates* (Manchester, 1962).

⁶¹ N. S. B. Gras, *The Early English Customs System*, Harvard Economic Studies (Cambridge, Mass. 1918), 125. T. S. Willan, *A Tudor Book of Rates*, xxviii-ix.

⁶² *Ibid.*, xi-xiii.

⁶³ N. S. B. Gras, *Early English Customs System*, 41-2, 47.

⁶⁴ Documents 21-6.

increasingly profitable. Currants came in as prunes and dyestuffs as salt, and it seems probable that at times it was only as an "interloper", a privateer or a smuggler that the merchant could follow his course of trade and make a reasonable profit.⁶⁵

Of the goods seized as smuggled, half were forfeit to the Crown and half to the informer, if the case were satisfactorily proved in the Exchequer Court. These cases are recorded in the Memoranda Rolls of the King's Remembrancer (E 159) and the change after 1558 is very clearly reflected in the increasing size and weight of the rolls. The analysis in App. 2 of the number of informations laid against Bristol men in each half of the century can be only a very rough guide. By the very nature of things, it is probable that only a small proportion of cases came to court, that officials were open to bribery, that informers brought malicious accusations which they then withdrew for payment, even that "the merchants mend and alter entries at their pleasure".⁶⁶ However, some general conclusions are possible. The main feature is the large increase in the second half of the century, especially in the export of leather, foodstuffs and metal goods, including weapons. It was no wonder that west country men were accused of supplying the enemy.⁶⁷ The increase in exports of butter, cheese, cereals, beans and peas can only be a reflection of high prices in the Mediterranean area in the 1590's and in the circumstances of famine and dearth in England caused protests and even riots. It is also noticeable that the amounts concerned in each accusation are very much larger. For example, the 25 consignments of calf skins allegedly smuggled in 1509-1558 averaged just under 46 dozen skins, whereas the 100 cargoes of the later period averaged 184 dozen skins.

The small amount of cloth concerned would be surprising if one did not suspect that it was at no time a very profitable export. The duty was not particularly heavy, cloth bore no impositions and required no licence. The small amounts of bullion exported mostly concern Irish merchants returning home with their profits. One suspects that Bristol merchants took care to "sweeten" the customs men, since it was known that large sums were needed for the Bordeaux trade. It remains possible, of course, that the large overall increase in accusations was also partly due to an increased vigilance on the part of the authorities, but the number of surveys and complaints about the port of Bristol would hardly support such a conclusion.⁶⁸

R. W. K. Hinton thought that perhaps 25% of the trade of Boston at the end of the sixteenth century was not recorded in the Port Books but Neville Williams suggested that in East Anglia the proportion might be

⁶⁵ F. C. Dietz, "English Public Finance and the National State in the Sixteenth Century", *Facts and Factors in Economic History*, essays presented to E. F. Gay (Camb. Mass., 1932), 114-33. G. D. Hall, "Impositions and the Courts, 1554-1606; *The Law Quarterly Review*, lxi (1953), 200-18. F. C. Dietz, "The Elizabethan Customs Administration", *E.H.R.*, xlv (1930), 54.

⁶⁶ Document 36.

⁶⁷ Documents 36, 161, 163.

⁶⁸ Documents 33, 34 and 36.

as high as 50%.⁶⁹ It is clear that a substantial proportion of Bristol trade was similarly not recorded. Wheeler's description of the provincial merchant, "the stragler, shipping his clothe and other commoditie in covert maner, hugger, mugger, and at obscure portes", making false entries, colouring aliens' goods and corrupting the customers, may be part of a clever piece of London propaganda, but it was, after all, not so far from the truth.⁷⁰

With this in mind, it is possible to look again at the customs accounts in App. 3, 4 and 5. The cloth trade was at its peak in the last decade of the fifteenth century, with over 8,000 cloths exported in 1495-6 and over 7,000 in 1489-90, 1491-2 and 1493-4. The average annual export for the decade was 6,515. In the early years of the sixteenth century the cloth export sank rapidly to less than half this figure. The reason for this decline is hard to determine, since Bristol men were still much in evidence at Bordeaux. It may have been some slight shift in the terms of trade, the beginnings of competition from the merchants of London, the French Channel ports or the Netherlands or even the squandering of resources on unprofitable voyages of exploration. After a period of stability in the 1530s, and a temporary prosperity at the mid-century, the cloth export fell again and, during the reign of Elizabeth, its deterioration was marked, and there is unlikely to be any significant degree of under-recording here. The effects of war and slump, successive stays of trade from 1564 to 1573, and open war in the last 15 years of the century all had their effect. By this time there was no elasticity in the trade. The competition of the London market attracted not only Wiltshire broadcloth, but also Lancashire cottons, Shrewsbury cloth and light Welsh friezes, as well as the more local Gloucestershire and Somerset coloureds.⁷¹

It may also be questioned whether most of these cloths found a good market in the main areas of Bristol's trade. Broadcloths were perhaps too heavy and too expensive for most of the French and Spanish ports and certainly too heavy for the Levant, the Mediterranean or the Azores. The cheaper friezes and cottons were too coarse for the luxury market and were meeting the competition of an officially supported home industry, at least in France.⁷² It may be also that southern Europe was less prosperous in the later years of the century. Kerseys were always in demand in Italy and the Levant, but this was not an important area for Bristol trade, even by 1600. For whatever cause, Bristol could no longer claim with any justification to be a major cloth exporting town.

⁶⁹ R. W. K. Hinton (ed.), *The Port Books of Boston 1601-1640*, Lincoln Record Society, 1 (1956), xxxii-xxxiii. N. J. Williams, "Francis Shaxton and the Elizabethan Port Books", *E.H.R.*, lvi (1951), 393.

⁷⁰ John Wheeler, "A Treatise of Commerce . . .", *T.E.D.* iii. 297.

⁷¹ G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1943), 24-5. N. Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry* (Manchester, 1972), 65-6, 79. T. C. Mendenhall, *The Shrewsbury Drapers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1953), 53.

⁷² See p. 20.

The overall decline in the traditional import of wine was less marked. The highest average was again for the decade of 1490-1500, but in many years in the first half of the sixteenth century imports were high and the 1530s in Bristol, as at Chester, seem to have been a "golden decade"⁷³ of stable trading conditions. After that, the totals of French and Spanish wine continued to fluctuate, those of French wine being particularly low in the 1570s as war caused havoc and disruption in Western France. Only by about 1600, when the war had ended, were there clear signs that the Gascon trade was picking up again. By that time, trade to the Mediterranean and to the Atlantic Islands contributed a much larger amount of sweet wine to Bristol's total, a commodity found only rarely in the first half of the century. Unlike the cloth trade, the prospects for the wine trade looked reasonably hopeful in 1600.

During the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, the pattern of trade in the miscellaneous goods paying poundage was similar in many ways to the pattern of trade in wine and cloth. Again the peak of trade was in the 1490s and once again the 1530s prove to have been a stable decade. The totals are also high in the 1540s, though the effects of war show in the larger share of trade shipped by aliens. The outstanding feature of the second half of the century is the low level of exports, especially in the 1560s. With luxury imports, like wine, far outweighing exports like cloth, Bristol's sixteenth century trade must have been a mercantilist's nightmare.⁷⁴ The same was also true of the receipts from poundage but it does not become clear until after 1558 when import and export totals were recorded separately. In almost every year imports were valued more highly, often they were valued at three or four times as much. Some part of the difference may have been made up by a direct trade in Newfoundland fish which paid duty only if it was carried to Bristol and re-exported. The strength of west country interests involved in the export of corn and fish was shown in the "free trade" debates of the early seventeenth century.⁷⁵ Other commodities which helped to redress the balance were lead, tin, coal, with metal goods, weapons, leather and some timber, mostly as pipestaves, which were often exported illegally. For much of the period 1560-1585, imports were also below average and the crisis years of 1569-70, with their stay of trade with both Spain and Portugal, were marked by an increased alien share of both imports and exports. Another point of particular interest is the apparent increase in the value of both imports and exports in the last years of the century, especially when the high incidence of smuggling then is taken into account. The entry in the Bristol customs books of prizes, sometimes belonging to Londoners, occasionally inflates the import totals without having any relevance to

⁷³ D. M. Woodward, *The Trade of Elizabethan Chester* (Hull, 1970), 48.

⁷⁴ T. S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester, 1959), 85-6.

⁷⁵ P. Croft, "Free Trade and the House of Commons, 1605-6", *Ec.H.R.* 2nd ser. xxviii (1975), 17-27.

the trade of the port. It is clear, however, that there were changes in trade in the last years of the century.

The changing direction and pattern of Bristol trade is shown in App. 6 and 7. It must be emphasized that these figures bear no relation to value or quantity, because of the very great variations of size in the ships involved. This is best illustrated by comparing the Irish trade at the end of the century, where the majority of the ships were under 20 tons, with the Mediterranean trade, where most were over 50 tons. The main difference to be observed is the wider spread of trade in the later years. More ports were visited even within France. The substitution of La Rochelle for Bordeaux in 1565 and 1570 is not surprising, though Bordeaux was making a strong come-back at the end of the century, which is shown also in the wine figures. During the war years, of course, no ships left announcing Spain or Portugal as their destination, though several came in from there. Voyages to Italy and the Levant, to the Atlantic Islands and, very occasionally to Guinea, and the appearance in the port of some Dutch and Scandinavian ships show the widening horizons of Bristol trade by 1600. Except for a certain decline in the Irish trade, the number of voyages increased.

If this is to be related in any way to the value of trade, some evidence as to the relative capacity of the ships involved is obviously crucial. It is generally supposed that smaller ships were usual by 1600. The evidence in App. 1 would suggest that there may have been about the same number of ships of 80-100 tons and over, but many more smaller ships than in the early period. It may be that improved methods of construction and navigation enabled these small ships to sail to more distant waters. Certainly, it seems as though a new fleet was built at Bristol during the last 30 years of the century.⁷⁶

3. THE NORTHERN TRADES

In the first half of the sixteenth century the Irish trade was of great importance to Bristol and its details fill a large proportion of the early customs books.⁷⁷ This was a prosperous period in the trade of the southern Irish ports which provided a market for manufactured and imported goods and a source of foodstuffs and raw materials in much the same way as the English counties which formed the natural hinterland of the port. Irish merchants traded to the Continental ports, probably mainly in fish, and often called at Bristol on the way home to spend some of their profits on the multifarious goods, some of them probably re-exports originally brought from Antwerp, which they purchased at the Bristol fairs.⁷⁸ Some Bristol men also took part in the trade, especially the less wealthy merchants and men of other trades

⁷⁶ J. Vanes, *The Port of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century*, the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association (1977), 7-9.

⁷⁷ E 122/21/1, 2, 4, 5, E 122/199/2, for example.

⁷⁸ E 404/120 6 July, 1576. E 163/12/2 the complaint of the Drapers. C. Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (1970), 20.

who bought fish and skins and exported small amounts of wine and cloth. Thus Bristol was always recognised as one of the main ports for Ireland, with Chester and later Liverpool. Chester's trade was mainly with Dublin and Drogheda, while Bristol was the market for the southern ports of Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kinsale, Youghal and Dungarvan.⁷⁹

The Irish ships, which came in considerable numbers to Bristol between Michaelmas and Easter, mostly carried the large amounts of fish consumed during the winter and especially during Lent. Salmon was a particular favourite. In 1540, John Caps supplied John Smythe with 27 pipes of salmon at 34s. 10d. the pipe. At the same time he supplied salt eels and a hawk and in 1548 Smythe received 20 casks of salt salmon from him.⁸⁰ Some of the fish brought to Bristol were salted and some pickled in sour wine. Most of the huge quantities of herring brought to Bristol were fresh or slightly salted "white" herring, sold by the last of 12 barrels or about 12,000 fish. Some "red" or smoked herring were also imported by the "mease" of 500 fish.⁸¹ Hake is sometimes mentioned by name, but is more often included with cod, haddock, whiting, pilchard and bream as "white fish".⁸² The customs accounts also occasionally mention a more unusual catch such as seals or a porpoise. This was altogether a very valuable trade, the total customs valuation of fish reaching Bristol from Ireland in 1503-4 amounted to £2,465 4s. 6d.⁸³

Very little Irish wool was imported at Bristol, since its export was forbidden in 1522 to protect the native industry, though it sometimes appears in cargoes seized as uncustomed.⁸⁴ A good deal of coarse cloth came in, especially checked frieze, cadowes or coverlets; rugg, sometimes known as Waterford rugg in black or white, and large numbers of Irish mantles. These were apparently voluminous cloaks which were usually of frieze dyed blue or russet and might be embroidered or decorated with fringe. At the end of the century fewer mantles were imported and more wool fells and brook fells, possibly a reflection of the decay of Irish industry during the long wars.⁸⁵

Salt hides and various types of skins and furs were a regular import at Bristol, especially during the spring and summer when fish was less in demand. Marten and other furs were used for linings, as were the increasing numbers of rabbit skins imported. Wolf skins were plentiful

⁷⁹ D. M. Woodward, *The Trade of Elizabethan Chester*, especially p. 26, Table 10(c), "The Ports of Sailing of Ships entering Bristol", taken from the Port books 1570-1602. C. Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources 1509-1610* (1923), 373-4. W. O'Sullivan, *The Economic History of Cork City from the Earliest Times to the Act of Union* (Cork, 1937), 80. B.A.O. DC/A/6/4/1 the will of Richard White, printed by A. Sabin, "Bristol Wills and Documents", *B.G.A.S.* lxiv (1943), 125-8.

⁸⁰ C 1/43/247-51. B.A.O. AC/B63 f. 22. "The Special Direction . . .", *T.E.D.* iii. 201. A. K. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century* (1929), 47.

⁸¹ Longfield, 47-8.

⁸² C 1/49/64. C 1/65/242. Longfield, 49-50.

⁸³ Longfield, 51, 53.

⁸⁴ E 159/313 Trin. 6v. E 159/358 Easter 16. Longfield, 77-8.

⁸⁵ E 159/314 Mich. 5, E 159/406 Hil. 2, E 159/377 Mich. 12. Longfield, 83-6.

and many skins of fox, goat, kid and various types of deer skins were also brought into the port of Bristol.⁸⁶ Some hawks were imported and occasionally horses. Timber was another occasional cargo, usually in the form of pipstaves, clapboard or wainscot. Barrels of salt beef, train oil, wax and tallow are also mentioned.⁸⁷

The export of foodstuffs from England was forbidden except under licence but a good many licences were issued for export to Ireland during the century sometimes because war or famine caused serious shortages there. At the same time, the seizure of cargoes laden for export uncustomed and unlicensed seems to have been a fairly common occurrence.⁸⁸ The author of the "Special direction for Divers Trades" insisted that the best commodity to ship to the west of Ireland was wine, both Gascon and Spanish, and small quantities of wine are regularly entered in the customs books, together with the "corrupt" wines which were so frequently exported to Ireland.⁸⁹ However, many of the cargoes were remarkable for their variety, consisting of haberdashery wares, small metal goods and manufactures of all kinds.⁹⁰

Various types of local cloth were exported from Bristol, including Welsh frieze and Somerset and Wiltshire coloureds which, with some Lancashire cottons, as well as Breton canvas and raw silk remained in demand throughout the century. In the later years there were more kerseys, as well as Continental velvets and taffetas.⁹¹ Small quantities of dyestuffs also went from Bristol to Ireland; woad, verdigris, madder, grains and alum. Saffron was a very frequent export, found often among cargoes seized. Spices, usually a re-export from Bristol, included cinnamon, aniseed, pepper, ginger and cloves.⁹² Iron, lead and tin were exported, sometimes as "pigs", sometimes as manufactured hardware and a good deal of brass and copper "battery" ware and of pewter and wooden cups and platters was exported to Ireland especially later in the century with the development of these industries in England.⁹³ Tanning and the manufacture of leather goods was one of Bristol's main industries and considerable quantities of points and laces, tanned calf skins, leather cushions, saddles and harness and imported red cordovan leather were sent to Ireland.⁹⁴

The probability that the balance of trade was in Ireland's favour in the early part of the century is supported by the evidence of small sums

⁸⁶ "The Special Direction . . .", *T.E.D.* iii. 207. Longfield, 62-71.

⁸⁷ E 159/320 Mich. 11. Longfield, 104-5. E. McCracken, *The Irish Woods since Tudor Times* (Newton Abbott, 1971), 98.

⁸⁸ *L.P.* ii(1), 1731, 1867; iii(2), 3062(8), (22). *Cal. Pat. App. 1547-1553*, pp. 398, 406. *Cal. Pat. 1557-1558*, p. 309. E 159/310 Easter 15. Document 40.

⁸⁹ "The Special Direction . . .", *T.E.D.* iii. 207. Longfield, 146.

⁹⁰ Documents 41, 42.

⁹¹ Longfield, 150-6, 161-2. N. Lowe, *The Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century*, 78-9.

⁹² "The Special Direction . . .", *T.E.D.* iii. 207. Longfield, 178-81, 185.

⁹³ Longfield, 186-8.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 189-90.

of money carried away by Irish merchants⁹⁵ but later the illicit export of foodstuffs may well have contributed to outweigh the recorded imports. In the later years of the century Bristol was one of the main ports for the embarkation of the troops and supplies needed for the army in Ireland. This may have provided work for the ships and men unemployed during the stay of trade with Spain and Portugal, but it is unlikely to have proved as profitable to the merchants as their normal trade. The Irish trade continued during the war but in the 1560s and again at the end of Elizabeth's reign, when fighting in the south was most intense, the ports there were seriously affected.⁹⁶ One of the results of the devastation was an influx of refugees, of which there are many evidences at Bristol. It was said that "divers English families that inhabited there have come bag and baggage to Bristol".⁹⁷

With Scotland, Bristol had no regular trade.⁹⁸ Though the two countries were at war for only comparatively short periods, the Scots were considered to be enemies, pirates lurking off the Breton coast to attack the wine fleet or off the Scottish islands to seize English ships fishing off the Hebrides, the Orkneys or Northern Ireland.⁹⁹ Even in times of peace only the occasional Scottish ship visited the port but in the last years of the century a few Scots took advantage of war-time embargoes to act as carriers between Bristol and the French and Spanish ports.¹⁰⁰

Nor was there at any time a regular trade between Bristol and the ports of Northern Europe. Their merchants came into the port occasionally, mainly on "tramp" voyages, as carriers of French or Spanish goods or of Baltic products such as flax, tar, clapboards, masts and pipestaves. Sometimes it may be they came only because contrary winds drove them into the Bristol Channel or because they had heard that there was a good market for wine or salt at Bristol.¹⁰¹ In 1543 Henry Setterford, John Smythe's apprentice, sent in the *Swan* of Amsterdam, 100 cases of figs, 80 quarterons of raisins and 104 butts of sack from Malaga to his master in Bristol.¹⁰² These ships usually left with small consignments of cloth, lead or coal, possibly to seek more cargo in another port. Few Bristol merchants travelled to Antwerp or the Dutch or German ports, though there are records of occasional dealings with Hansards in England and some Netherlanders, like

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 197. Document 43. E 159/314 Mich. 10, E 159/319 Trin. lv. E 159/325 Mich. 2v. for example.

⁹⁶ C. Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, 103-11, 282-318.

⁹⁷ *A.P.C.* xv. 109-10. B.A.O. 04444 f. 112r and v. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Elizabeth* 268/111. P. Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664", *Ec.H.R.* 2nd ser., xxvii (1974), 365.

⁹⁸ Document 44.

⁹⁹ Documents 45, 46. *L.P.* xviii (1) 19, 28, 33, 57, 71, 113. *L.P.* vi 589(16) H.C.A. 13/6/72-5. B.A.O. AC/B63 f. 281.

¹⁰⁰ E 190/1128/2, 7, 8. E 190/1132/10, 11.

¹⁰¹ H. C. A. 24/13/83-92, E 122/21/1, E 122/199/5, E 190/1128/15, E 190/1132/10, 11.

¹⁰² B.A.O. AC/B 63 ff. 195, 197, 202.

Derrick Derrickson, perhaps refugees, settled in Bristol and took part in trade.¹⁰³

Although the Eastland Company's Charter of 1579 stated that the Company should be open to merchants of Bristol and the other western ports, Bristol ships rarely sailed to the Baltic. The Sound Toll Registers show only one Bristol ship each way in 1557, one in 1574, one in 1576, one in 1577 and three in 1586.¹⁰⁴ Difficulties of climate and navigation made the voyage a hazardous one and the long voyage through the English Channel took the ships through waters infested by pirates in the later years of the century, as William Colston found to his cost. In 1586 a serious famine in the west country persuaded the Company to allow three Bristol ships to sail to Danzig for rye. The capture of Colston's ship by the Dutch led to a long dispute and the submission of his petitions, with the inventory of his ship and cargo, to the Privy Council and the Admiralty Court.¹⁰⁵

With Russia and Scandinavia Bristol had little contact. When the Muscovy Company was set up in 1555, Edward Pryn, "citizen and merchant of Bristol" was the only member not a Londoner. Pryn was a leading member of the Bristol Merchant Company and had been Master in 1552, so that he may have joined the Muscovy Company rather as representing the Bristol men than as an individual. No evidence has been found of further participation in the Company.¹⁰⁶ Some Scandinavian ships came into the port in the later years of the century, among them the *Fortune* of Denmark and the *St. John* and the *Angel* of Bergen. In June 1601, the 200 ton *Lion* of Amsterdam came in with 70 masts and some deal boards, which may reflect the growing shortage of timber, perhaps for shipbuilding in the port, and the importance of the Dutch in the carrying trade at this period.¹⁰⁷

4. TRADE WITH FRANCE.

Sixteenth century writers were at pains to stress the complementary nature of trade between the two countries. This was particularly true of

¹⁰³ C 1/44/51, C 1/60/251, C 1/64/354, C 1/67/294, C 1/69/335, C 1/1489/86. P.C.C. 19 Adeane. *L.P.* iii(2), 2297(2). E 122/199/1, E 122/199/2, E 190/1128/5. *T.E.D.* iii. 208. C 1/599/17, C 1/786/44, C 3/40/97. E 159/347 Easter 16r and v. Documents 47-54.

¹⁰⁴ M. Sellers (ed.), *The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*, Camden Society 3rd ser. xi (1906), 142-51. N. R. Deardoff, "English Trade in the Baltic during the Reign of Elizabeth", in A. J. Gerson, E. V. Vaughan, N. R. Deardoff, *Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period* (N. York, 1912), 254-62. H. Zins, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era*, trans. H. C. Stevens (Manchester, 1972), 117, 141. N. Bang, *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund 1497-1660*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1906-33), i. 20, 64, 72, 76, 112. R. W. K. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Commonwealth in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1959), 1-8.

¹⁰⁵ F. F. Fox (ed.), *Adam's Bristol Chronicle* (Bristol, 1910), Documents 55-57.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. Pat. 1554-1555*, 55-9. T. S. Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants of 1555* (Manchester, 1953), 10, 118.

¹⁰⁷ E 159/397 Mich. 59-61, E 159/398 Hil. 264-5, E 159/398 Easter 18, E 159/399 Mich. 24, E 190/1132/11.

Bristol and the ports of south western France. From the days of English rule Bordeaux, Bayonne and their hinterland specialised in the production of wine and woad for the English market, receiving in return cloth, leather, lead, tin and coal, with fish and other foodstuffs.¹⁰⁸ With the French conquest, the trade was cut off for a time until partially restored by the Treaty of Picquigny in 1475 and by the 1490s was again flourishing. However, throughout the sixteenth century trade with France was unpopular with English statesmen because of the drain on gold. "First it enrycheth Fraunce, whose power England ought not to increase; secondly, for the more part the wyne of France . . . ar bought with sendyng redy money thither".¹⁰⁹ This brought problems also to the Bristol merchants who exported bullion illegally from England and from Spain, made elaborate "barter" deals with Bordeaux merchants, borrowed money in Bordeaux to be paid by bill of exchange in London or paid their bills in Fuenterrabia or in Bristol. In the later part of the century the sale of food and munitions in La Rochelle sometimes enabled them to transfer credits from there to pay the Bordeaux wine merchants.¹¹⁰

The wine trade was at its height in the fourteenth century but by the 1490s imports at Bristol were again very large, ranging from 1,500 to 2,600 tons a year.¹¹¹ Though some of this wine undoubtedly came from Spain and Portugal, the evidence of the registers of the Bordeaux notaries shows that the Bristol men were among the more active of foreign merchants from about 1485 to 1510.¹¹² They liked to visit the vineyards to taste the wine, white, red and claret that they then shipped back to Bristol.¹¹³ Few Englishmen lived in Bordeaux after the French conquest, but many visited the city for the October Fair at the time of the vintage or for the February Fair at the "rack" vintage. There were never enough Bristol ships to carry all the wine and a variety of English and foreign ships, particularly Bretons, were chartered. It seems likely that, though the number of Bristol ships visiting the port probably fell during the period of civil war in France, the trade was resumed during the 1590s. By that time the preponderance of the western ports, overwhelming in the earlier period, had completely

¹⁰⁸ P. Boissonade, "Le mouvement commerciale entre la France et les Iles Britanniques au seizième siècle", *Revue Historique*, cxxxiv (1920), 193-228, cxxxv (1920), 1-27. T. Malvèzin, *Histoire du commerce de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1892), ii. 39-42. M. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade* (Oxford, 1971), 31.

¹⁰⁹ M. G. A. Vale, *English Gascony 1399-1453*, (Oxford, 1970), 14. D. C. Coleman, *Revisions in Mercantilism* (1969), 1-17. C. Wilson, *Economic History and the Historian* (1969), 48-72. C. Wilson, *Mercantilism*, Historical Association (1958). S.P. 12/41/58 in *T.E.D.* ii, 124-5.

¹¹⁰ Documents 75, 80-86, 96-101. C 1/966/42-5. *T.E.D.* iii, 205. E. Trocmé and M. Delafosse, *Le Commerce Rochelais de la fin du XV^e siècle au début du XVII^e* (Paris, 1952), 145. T. S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, 28.

¹¹¹ App. 4.

¹¹² J. Bernard, *Navires et gens de mer*, iii.

¹¹³ Document 86.

disappeared and an increasing share of the trade was taken by London and the east coast ports.¹¹⁴

The other important commodity exported from Bordeaux in the first half of the sixteenth century was the woad of Toulouse. In the fifteenth century woad was generally purchased from merchants of Bayonne and its quality was assessed in marks sterling per quarteron by the "assay" of Bristol, carried out by skilled dyers of the town.¹¹⁵ If the consignment of woad did not meet the guarantee then the English merchant took to Bayonne a certificate sealed by the Mayor and was entitled to a rebate. This clumsy system made more necessary the registration of each transaction with a notary. From 1490-1510 there was a steady inflation of values from 3 to 8 or 9 marks. As the Toulouse trade increased, the woad was brought down the river Garonne to be shipped abroad at the new quay in the suburb of the Chartrons in Bordeaux. By 1520 the Toulouse valuation in florins was adopted and as the inflation continued, 26 to 28 florins in the 1520s rose to 36 to 45 florins in 1555-1560.¹¹⁶ The period 1559-1563 brought a severe crisis in the Toulouse woad trade, to which wild speculation, over-production, the beginning of religious troubles at Toulouse in 1562 and the appearance of indigo in Europe all contributed. The Bristol merchants increasingly turned to the Azores for their woad, as war and increased taxes made the French product even less attractive.¹¹⁷

From Bordeaux the Bristol men also brought goose feathers, prunes, paper, resin, pitch and honey.¹¹⁸ Salt was another cargo which found a ready market in England for use as flavouring or as a preservative. By the late fifteenth century Bristol had secured an important position in the distribution and marketing of Bay salt from Brouage and salt might also complete a cargo from La Rochelle or Nantes. The trade continued profitable to the end of the century when Bristol merchants were still bringing salt into west country ports in spite of war, piracy and the flooding of some of the principal salt marshes in western France.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Documents 58-86. B.M. Add. MS. 11716 in Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik gegen ende des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1881), 526-8. C. Jullian, *Histoire de Bordeaux depuis les origines jusqu'en 1895* (Bordeaux, 1895), 440-1. P. Courteault, "La vie des foires bordelaises", *R.H.Bx.* (1917), 242.

¹¹⁵ *Arch. Mun. Bayonne, Régistres Gascons* (Bayonne, 1896-1898), i. xxvii, 55-6, 70, 95, 126, 131, 324-5. Documents 87-95.

¹¹⁶ G. Caster, *Le Commerce du pastel et de l'épicerie à Toulouse de 1450 environ à 1561* (Toulouse, 1962), Ph. Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1958), 187.

¹¹⁷ G. Caster, *Le Commerce du pastel*, 206-49. G. Caster, "Les problèmes financiers des exportateurs de pastel toulousain au XVI^e siècle", *Ann Midi*, lxxiii (1956), 303-15. E. Connac, "Troubles de mai 1562 à Toulouse", *Ann. Midi*, iii (1891), 310-39.

¹¹⁸ G. Caster, *Le commerce du pastel*, 272, 277, 291-9. T. Malvèzin, *Histoire du commerce de Bordeaux*, ii. 205-6. E 159/295 Trin. 30. B.A.O. AC/B 63 ff. 28, 59, 189.

¹¹⁹ A. R. Bridbury, *England and the salt trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955), 46, 115, 117, 122, 141. E. Trocmé and M. Delafosse, *op. cit.* 84, 149. H.M.C. *Salisbury MSS.* v. 164, ix. 329-30. Documents 108-16.

The notaries' records in Bordeaux contain many contracts made by Bristol merchants for the sale of cloth in return for wine and woad. Most of this cloth was already dyed and dressed and was ordered by the French merchants in a variety of colours: dull blue, sky blue, bright blue, dull green, bright green, violet and red were the favourites. Manchester friezes came in grey, white, black, blue, green, yellow and orange.¹²⁰ In the later part of the century, edicts to encourage the manufacture of cheap cloth in France followed complaints that the English brought so much cloth of Bristol, Chester and Norwich that the French weavers were forced "de prendre un autre mestier, et bien souvent de mendier leur pain".¹²¹

Foodstuffs, especially fish, butter, cheese, corn, beans and peas were traditionally shipped from the west country to supply this part of France. When, in the sixteenth century the export of grain and other foods was forbidden, it became very profitable to ship grain to Gascony, either on a Royal licence or by smuggling it there. The Breton and St. Jean de Luz shipmasters who regularly discharged their wines at Chepstow to avoid tax, often seem to have taken on malt, wheat or beans for the return voyage. Fish was sometimes brought into Bordeaux direct from the fishing grounds and wine or salt laden before returning to the home port. Other frequent exports to France were leather, as hides or calf skins, lead, tin and coal, wax and tallow.¹²² These products were welcome also at Bayonne and St. Jean de Luz which were much frequented, especially in the later years of the century when the new harbour was opened at Bayonne and Spanish goods could be purchased in these ports when Spain was closed to the English merchants.¹²³

During the French wars, when Bordeaux itself was sometimes cut off from the sea, many English merchants transferred their trade to La Rochelle. There was a strong demand from the beleaguered Protestants there for weapons, coal, cloth and food, while the Bristol men could obtain salt, wine, fruit, resin and honey and the other products of the south west, as well as the spices and other goods from the Indies which the Rochelais pirates sold more cheaply than they could be purchased in Lisbon.¹²⁴ In the 1590's some Bristol men travelled to Brittany, to Brest and Nantes, in search of a market, though much of the canvas, glass, linen and cordage from Breton and Norman towns, which was sold at the St. James' Fair in Bristol, was imported through Southampton, Poole and Salisbury.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ F. Michel, *Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1867-70), i. 279 and n. 2. A.D.G. G. 2280, pièce 22. Documents 69, 81-6.

¹²¹ P. Boissonade, *op. cit.* 209-10, 194. T. Malvézin, *op. cit.* ii. 200-2.

¹²² Documents 68, 69, 106, 110. B.A.O. AC/B63 ff. 69, 173, 174, 196, 221, 232. F. Michel, *op. cit.* i. 256-7.

¹²³ Document 107. R. Veillet, *Recherches sur la ville et sur l'église de Bayonne* (Bayonne, 1910-1929), ii. 169. T.E.D. iii, 200.

¹²⁴ Documents 111-118. Trocmé and Delafosse, *op. cit.* 1-22, 84. P. Boissonade, *op. cit.* 227-8. E 122/199/1. E 159/350. Easter 418, Trin. 351. T.E.D. iii. 205-6.

¹²⁵ Documents 119-23. L.P. xiv (1) 1147. *Cal. Pat. 1557-1558*, 350. J. Tanguy, *Le Commerce du port de Nantes au milieu de XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1956), 37-47.

With the return of peace in France after 1598, the French trade showed a considerable improvement. As well as resuming their trade to Bordeaux, the Bristol merchants visited most of the ports of France including the Mediterranean ports of Marseilles and Toulon, from which they returned with cargoes of fruit, rice, oil, and soap.¹²⁶

5. THE SOUTHERN TRADES.

Professor Braudel has stressed the essential unity of the whole Mediterranean area, "a complex totality", with a uniformity of climate and of social structure. Trade had its own part to play in linking this "complex of seas", a web "created by the movements of men, the relationships they imply and the routes they follow".¹²⁷ The Bristol men, in their accounts, might divide their southern voyages into those to Biscay or Andalusia, to the Islands, to Guinea, Barbary or to the Mediterranean "beyond the Straits", but in practice one was often an extension of the other. English ships, sailing to southern Spain, made calls in Biscay, Portugal or North Africa. English factors in Spain sometimes travelled to Barbary for trade. Woad from the Azores was imported into England in partnership with Portuguese merchants and Spaniards acted as agents for English trade with the New World. Robert Thorne in Seville owned a soap factory in partnership with the Genoese and his brother, Nicholas, and other Bristol men were drawn into occasional ventures to Sicily and Crete.

Bristol had a long established trade with northern Spain and Biscayan ships were frequent visitors to the port. Some thirty different Portuguese and Spanish ships are mentioned in John Smythe's ledger.¹²⁸ It seems that for much of the century Bristol's main links were with the northern towns, such as San Sebastian, Renteria, Fuenterrabia, Bilbao and Pasajes. Many of the overseas factors found it convenient and perhaps cheaper to live there to organise trade to the French ports, as well as to Portugal and southern Spain.¹²⁹ Iron and iron goods, distributed locally and throughout the Midlands, were probably Bristol's most profitable import from the Basque country.¹³⁰ Of the other main export from northern Spain, wool, Bristol took very little until the end of the century when changes in the types of cloth produced in the west country required some of the finer Spanish wool.¹³¹ A Spanish document of 1563 lists lead, tin, calf skins, various

¹²⁶ E 190/1132/7, 9, 10, 11. E 190/1133/1.

¹²⁷ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, 20-3, 231, 276.

¹²⁸ Documents 127-130. B.A.O. AC/B 63.

¹²⁹ Documents 131-151. *T.E.D.* iii. 200. J. W. Sherborne, *The Port of Bristol in the Middle Ages*, Bristol Branch of the Historical Association (1965), 8-9, 11. E. M. Carus Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*, B.R.S. vii (1937).

¹³⁰ J. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, i (Oxford, 1964), 117. A. Dominguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain* (1971), 180. *L.P.* i(1)1575. *L.P.Add.* i(1) 220. G. Connell Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, 5-6. Documents 140, 144, 147.

¹³¹ G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry*, 102 E 159/411 Trin. 5, E 159/369 Trin. 6, E 159/341 Mich. 11, 223.

types of cloth and fish, including cod, herring and pilchards as the goods brought by the English to San Sebastian.¹³² The market there for coloured cloth was well understood, with the particular requirements of each port. For San Sebastian, good quality cloth was needed and the fashion was for the more sophisticated, muted shades, as became the summer retreat of the Spanish Court.¹³³

For Andalusia, the merchants was advised to ship cloth of the finest quality, with lead and tin, calf skins and hides, copper and pewter vessels, masts and planks for shipbuilding and pipestaves for the oil and wine casks.¹³⁴ From Seville and the other ports of the Guadalquivir estuary the Bristol men brought pottery and tiles, salt from the coastal marshes and soap from the factories of Triana. A good deal of fruit was imported, especially oranges, lemons, figs and raisins "of three or fower sortes", sometimes marmalade, sugar, almonds and olives, dyestuffs, alum, fine leather and silks, cochineal from the New World and spices from the East.¹³⁵ It is clear, however, that that oil and wine were the two most valuable imports from southern Spain. The olive oil, imported in very large quantities, was used by Bristol soap boilers and in working the wool used in the local cloth industry.¹³⁶ Various wines, including hullock and teynt, were imported but sherry or "sack" was the most important and came from the area around Jerez de la Frontera, Puerta de Santa Maria and San Lucar de Barrameda, where the Andalusia Company of English merchants had their headquarters.¹³⁷

It seems that Bristol was well represented in the company, since William Pepwell was among those who petitioned Henry VIII for the charter, William Ostriche became governor in 1538 and he was succeeded by Hugh Tipton.¹³⁸ Tipton, "an English merchant of great doing", showed much energy and concern in dealing with the many cases concerning factors, merchants and seamen; placing factors, organising finance, petitioning for the release of men seized by the

¹³² D. Carmelo Echegaray, *Investigaciones Históricas referentes a Guipúzcoa* (San Sebastian, 1893), 194-5, 115, 127-31, 201. H. Lapeyre, "Quelques données sur le mouvement du port de Saint Sébastien au temps de Philippe II", *Actas des Primer Congreso internacional del Pirineo del Instituto de Estudios pirenaicos* (Saragosse, 1952), vi. 181-91.

¹³³ *T.E.D.* iii. 204-5.

¹³⁴ *T.E.D.* iii. 202. P. Croft (ed.) *The Spanish Company*, London Record Society, ix (1973), p. xii.

¹³⁵ P. and H. Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504-1650*, viii(1) (Paris, 1959), 290-311, 341-3, J. Vivens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain*, revised by J. Nadal Oller and trans. F. M. Lopez-Marillas (N. Jersey, 1969), 345-7. R. Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders* (1972), 1. Documents 153-8.

¹³⁶ *T.E.D.* iii. 99. B.A.O. AC/B 63.

¹³⁷ Document 157. P. Barbadillo Delgado, *Historia de la ciudad de Sanlucar de Barrameda* (Cadiz, 1942), 87, 103-4. G. Connell Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, 82-91. P. Croft, *The Spanish Company*, vii.

¹³⁸ *T.E.D.* ii. 28. C. T. Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies, 1530-1707*, Selden Society xxviii (1913), 1-3. *L.P.* xvi(1), 848. B. M. Harleian MS. 36/29, printed in Schanz, ii. 494-5.

Inquisition and the return of confiscated goods.¹³⁹ The early persecutions of English merchants in Spain in the 1530s and 1540s were rarely severe and it was only during Elizabeth's reign that new customs barriers in both countries, restrictions on the movements of foreigners and the export of bullion made trade more difficult. Inflation meant that living in Spain was no longer cheap; religious differences made it dangerous.¹⁴⁰ As the weakness of France, Scottish Protestantism and the decline of Antwerp made the Anglo-Spanish alliance unnecessary to the English Queen, a series of crises led to embargoes on trade and merchants found their ships and goods seized and their trade interrupted.¹⁴¹

It was rather a slow decline than a dramatic shut-down. Even after 1585, Bristol ships were not unknown in Spanish ports. In the north they unloaded into barges off-shore, sailed with Irish masters, traded through English Catholic residents, even visited certain Spanish ports in safety, the Condado or Ayamonte in the south and Vigo in the north were fairly safe ports of call.¹⁴² It was probably to preserve and protect what remained of trade that the Spanish Company was set up on 8th July, 1577. The total of 389 members included 74 from Bristol and 2 of the 40 assistants were Bristol men.¹⁴³

There is evidence in the customs accounts that Bristol's trade with Spain continued into the 1580s, though on a reduced scale, and Bristol men were accused of carrying contraband to Spain even in 1587.¹⁴⁴ By the 1590s ships from Hamburg, Emden, Amsterdam, Wismar and some Scandinavian ports were shipping ordnance, timber for ship-building, pipestaves, corn, butter and cheese from Bristol to Spain.¹⁴⁵ Severe famines in the whole Mediterranean area meant that it was sometimes possible to make profits of 300%. Charter parties were ignored as ships converged on the famine-struck towns. The Bristol men, who had always carried provisions to the Peninsula, in spite of all prohibitions, probably continued to do so, and in considerable quantities, not just of corn, butter and cheese, but also of fish, in which the west country fishermen built up a profitable triangular trade with Newfoundland and the Mediterranean.¹⁴⁶

Personal and business relations with Portugal seem often to have been very close.¹⁴⁷ Several Portuguese are found in Bristol, mostly

¹³⁹ Hakluyt (ed.), *Voyages* (1967), vi 256. C 3/8/85. *Cal. S.P. Foreign, 1561-1565*. Documents 174-5.

¹⁴⁰ P. Barbadillo Delgado, *op. cit.* 95. E. 404/122, 5 July 1559. *Cal. S.P. Foreign 1561-1565*, *passim*. Documents 144, 150-1.

¹⁴¹ R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada* (1966), 282, 290-305. Document 160.

¹⁴² Documents 160-1, 163-5. B.M. Lansdowne MS. 14/71. J. Alban Fraser, *Spain and the West Country*, 163; *Cal. S.P. Dom. Elizabeth Add.* 20/99, Hakluyt, iv. 128. A. J. Loomie, "Sir William Semple and Bristol's Andalucian Trade, 1597-1598", *B.G.A.S.* lxxxi-ii (1962), 177-87. *T.E.D.* ii. 80-3.

¹⁴³ P. Croft, *The Spanish Company*, xiii, xvii.

¹⁴⁴ Documents 161-2, 165.

¹⁴⁵ Document 164. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Elizabeth*, 242/57, 239/92, 243/39, 271/85.

¹⁴⁶ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 600-2. P. Croft, *The Spanish Company*, 124.

¹⁴⁷ Documents 166-170. V. M. Shillington and A. B. Wallis Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (n.d.), 66-9, 70, 105-25, App. 1, p. 107.

concerned with trade to the Azores for woad and some of them formed a company with a group of Bristol men in 1540.¹⁴⁸ Later in the century, the Bristol merchants had their own factors in the islands and it was said that woad bought there for £12 would sell in Bristol for £20. Sugar, malmesey and madeira wines, alum and cedar wood chests were also valuable imports.¹⁴⁹

From Portugal itself came salt, calico, dyestuffs, particularly grains, wine, oil, fruit, onions, cork and all kinds of spices. The English supplied cloth, lead, calf skins and fish, though sometimes there were complaints about the quality of the cloth.¹⁵⁰ As in Spain, it was often commercial and political jealousies rather than religious differences which caused uncertainty and embargoes of trade. The English sailed as interlopers to trade direct with Barbary, Guinea and Brazil where the Portuguese claimed a monopoly.¹⁵¹ Bristol men rarely took part in such voyages, though a few sent cloth with Wyndham's 1552 Barbary expedition.¹⁵² In 1576 Dominic Chester and Thomas Aldworth claimed to have a regular trade to Barbary and the *Peter* of Bristol was captured in that area by the Algiers galleys. In the last years of the century there were occasional voyages to Morocco and to Guinea but these were hardly part of the regular trade of the port.¹⁵³

Similarly, before the 1590s there was no regular trade to Italy and the Levant. It may well be that, for most of the century, Bristol men could make at least an adequate living from their voyages to France, Spain and Portugal and from the Irish and Newfoundland trades. Italian goods generally reached Bristol through London and Southampton. The company of Bristol merchants, headed by Nicholas Thorne and William Ballard, set up to import wine from the eastern Mediterranean in the 1530s and 1540s, seems not to have established a regular trade, though occasional consignments came in through Southampton for Thorne.¹⁵⁴ From the 1570s one or two ships a year sailed to Italy, particularly to Leghorn. The *Golden Lion*, for example, sailed into Leghorn on 11th February, 1579, with 636 pieces of lead, 28 pieces of tin, 6 packs of cloth and 20 dozen calf skins.¹⁵⁵ In the

¹⁴⁸ B.A.O. AC/B 63 f. 149. E 122/199/2, E 122/21/10.

¹⁴⁹ T.E.D. iii. 203-4. H.C.A. 24/43/257.

¹⁵⁰ T.E.D. iii. 202-3. Documents 167, 171-3. J. B(rown), *The Marchants Avizo*, ed. P. McGrath (Boston, 1957), 13-15. H. Warner Allen, *The Wines of Portugal* (1963), 16-17, 35-7. M. Mollat, *Le Rôle du Sel dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1968), 53-7.

¹⁵¹ Document 177.

¹⁵² A.P.C. v. 357-8, 385. Document 178. R. G. Marsden (ed.), *The Law and Custom of the Sea*, i. 184-9. A. B. Wallis Chapman, "The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal, 1487-1807", *T.R.H.S.* 3rd ser. i (1907), 158-9.

¹⁵³ Document 179, T.E.D. iii. 202. H. de Castries (ed.), *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845* (Paris, 1918-1935), i. 91, 123-8, 145, 188, especially 110-11. Hakluyt, iii, 121-31. S. Seyer, *Memoirs historical and topographical of Bristol and its neighbourhood* (Bristol, 1821, 1823), ii. 248.

¹⁵⁴ A. A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600*, (Southampton, 1951), 88, 150, 188, 265. Documents 181-2.

¹⁵⁵ F. Braudel and R. Romano, *Navires et Marchandises à l'entrée du Port de Livourne, 1547-1611* (Paris, 1951), 50-1. Archivio de Stato, Florence, 2080/175. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Fischer.

1590s a few Bristol ships sailed each winter to Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, Venice, Zante or Cephalonia, returning with alum, oil, wine and currants.¹⁵⁶ The Levant trade was closed by the London company's monopoly, but Bristol several times petitioned for a share in the trade. On 2nd December, 1600, Thomas Symonds in London wrote to John Sanderson at Pera, "Our newe pattennt not yet sealed. The Bristol men sewe hard to have libertie for two ships a yeare, which is as many as all they can well sett a work . . .".¹⁵⁷ The new Levant Company Charter, issued on 31st December, 1600, was similar to that of 1592, so apparently the Bristolians received no such concessions.¹⁵⁸

Thus Bristol trade continued into the war years and in spite of difficulties. In 1582 William Langley, nephew of Philip, was still living in Lisbon and his legacy from his uncle was to be "ymployed and bestowed to his use in the most vendyble marchaundyzes for Spayne and Portingall". The same year William Gittins made his will. There he speaks of the adventure "which this daie I have at sea to Fraunce, Spayne, Portingall and Turkey, which I do esteeme in 20138 li".¹⁵⁹ This was a much larger sum than John Smythe, for example, in the 1540s, ever invested in one year, and inflation can account for only part of the difference.

6. CONCLUSION.

The study of Bristol's sixteenth century trade has produced no new and startling conclusions. It seems that at Bristol, as elsewhere, change came slowly. Some of the underlying factors which determined the volume, direction and commodities of trade were altered during the century but Bristol merchants were slow to recognise and accept the nature of the changes they saw and slower still to find a satisfactory response.

Trade declined steadily from the peak of the 1490s for reasons which remain uncertain. Changes in the cloth industry, increasing competition in overseas markets such as Bordeaux, voyages to Newfoundland, probably all played a part. The effects of war show clearly throughout the century, but the resulting dislocations of the usual routine had little permanent effect in the first half of the century, and the 1530s were moderately prosperous. A short-lived boom after 1549 resulted from the debasement of the coinage and the slump in the London to Antwerp trade but the mid-century crisis hit Bristol's trade eventually, as it did the rest of Europe. The causes were war and

¹⁵⁶ Documents 183-4. E 190/1132/7, 9, 10, 11. E 190/1133/1.

¹⁵⁷ Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser. lxxvii (1931), 212. Documents 184-5, 13, 14.

¹⁵⁸ A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 7-23, 36. M. Epstein, *Early History of the Levant Company* (1908), 9-24.

¹⁵⁹ Wadley, 433, pp. 265-8, the will of Philip Langley. Wadley, 407, pp. 249-50, also P.C.C. 13 Spencer, the will of William Gittins.

inflation coinciding with a period of poor harvests, epidemic influenza and civil unrest. The American trade from Seville recovered fairly rapidly from the crisis and Chaunu describes a second period of prosperity from 1562 to 1592 with a new depression in the 1590s. For European trade in general there was no such quick recovery. The trade of Bristol to Bordeaux, La Rochelle and the Breton ports was repeatedly menaced by piracy and the French Wars of Religion. The political decline of France made possible a "diplomatic revolution" by which, over a period of some twenty years, the traditional alliance of England with the Netherlands and the Peninsula disappeared. Thus the whole nature and direction of the city's trade was threatened. At the same time a period of aggressive nationalism brought restrictions on foreign shipping and increased customs dues in most countries. The immediate response of many merchants and ship-owners was piracy or privateering, smuggling and the bribery of officials. The resulting state of lawlessness at sea during this period must have been detrimental to trade.

Sea battles, captures, wrecks and bankruptcies marked the years when the "happy age" of the first half of the century gave place to the "sad days" of the 1560s. It was then that the Bristol merchants, by their attempt at securing a monopoly of the overseas trade of the city, tried to limit the numbers taking part in trade and so secure a reasonable living for each member of their company. Their membership of the Spanish Company of 1577 was perhaps an attempt at achieving some security for themselves and their factors in Spain. Both attempts failed with the repeal of the Merchants' Act in 1571 and the outbreak of war with Spain in 1585. Some new remedy was long overdue if a more secure basis of trade was to be found.

It seems that perhaps the first necessity was the building at Bristol of a new fleet of ships. There is little evidence of ship-building there in the first half of the century compared with the numbers found later. It is impossible to say to what extent they incorporated new methods and designs developed by this date but it is probable that in general they were smaller, faster and more heavily armed. The old markets were to be exploited wherever possible. Trade with France, which for a time had transferred from Bordeaux to La Rochelle, was extended much more widely to take account of wartime conditions and the movement of armies. Trade with Spain, Portugal and the Atlantic Islands was to be maintained in any way possible: in Bristol ships with Scots or Irish masters, or in ships of Bordeaux, Brittany, St. Jean de Luz, Scotland, Flanders, the Baltic or Scandinavia. More English ships probably traded direct with the Atlantic Islands since they were used to rendezvous there to lie in wait for Spanish or Portuguese prizes and were ready to take on a cargo of wine, sugar or woad for the return voyage. These wide-ranging "oceanic" voyages of the later years of the century were, unlike the earlier privateering in the Channel or the Bay of Biscay, an encouragement to trade. The Bristol men also, from the late 1570s, began to extend their normal Spanish voyages into the

Mediterranean and sent three or four ships a year to Marseilles, Toulon, Leghorn, Civita Vecchia and Venice. Occasionally, they visited the African coast, sometimes they continued to Greece or Turkey for valuable cargoes of wine and currants. There is evidence that the demand of the Mediterranean trade for certain commodities, especially lead and foodstuffs, had its effect on local industry and stimulated a considerable increase in the quantity of Newfoundland fish exported, together with corn, butter and cheese from the west country.

The war at sea was, as always, a battle for commerce and the protection of trade routes and, when it ended, the Bristol merchants had the ships, the experience and the skills to travel more widely for their trade. It was indeed a time of preparation, though, as Professor Wernham points out, "the sea war launched England out upon the oceans and on the pathway to empire. Yet, because great oaks from little acorns grow, we should not forget that this particular acorn was comparatively little". The old trades of cloth and leather, wine and salt remained the staples of Bristol's commerce at the end of the century as they had been in 1500.

CHAPTER ONE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRISTOL

1. A PETITION FROM THE TOWN OF BRISTOL, c. 1530.

Where the toun and porte of Bristowe ...¹ buildyng quykest in occupiying of marchaunt men ... and your subyettes thereaboutes dwellyng well sat awerk and had good ... and weale of that quarter of your Highnes Realme, and that ... lord, that by reason of certain abuses a large quarter of the ... principall places and stretes to the nombre of nyne hundred houses and above is clerely fallen down, the grasse growyng in the streetes, beyng moche of the residue in great decaye and inhabited with poore people veray like in breve tyme and space ... onles by your most gracious Highnes and your honourable Counsail some good order shuld be taken for reformation of the same. Your most humble and obeydent subyettes the Maire, his breder, the Shirriffes and commynaltie of your said town of Bristowe have thought it their most bounden duetyes to declare and shewe unto your most gracious Highnes as nere as they can the veray occasions of the said ruyn and what thinges in thair myndes and opynyons is most necessary for them and leest cost to your Highnes, to make sute for unto the same your Majestye for restauracion of your said toun and relief of your subyettes ther as folowyth, most humbly and lowly besechyng your Majesty of your most gracious benignite and disposition to have gracious respect and regard unto the same, for surely onles your said orators shalbe releved in this behalf by your especiall and habundant grace, they shall not in any wise be hable for a small season to beir the charges of the offices ther auntyently used but rather shalbe constreyned utterly to abandon and forsake the same toune, not onely to the distruccion therof and desolacion of the contrey, but also to the utter undoyng of your said subyettes.

Occasions of the decaye.

Furst, as longe as the clothiers of the said toun made speciall good and true clothes and by reason of their great occupyng did sett many folke of worke as carders, spynsters, weyvers, fullers, sheremen and other occupacions and by making of good clothe sold their clothes at reasonable prices and therby releved thair neibours and grewe to be

¹ *The MSS. is badly worn.*

substanciall and wer chosen to be maires, shirriffes and bailliffes of the said toun and hable to beire the charges without beyng constreynd to take the extreme towle due unto the toun, but gave a great part therof, so that all maner straungers wer glad and desirous dailly to resorte thidder with thair shippes and otherwise to bye and sell their marchandise which was to the great proffit and avauntage of the occupyers there, than and so longe the said toun was in great welthe and prosperite. And when it was so that the husbondmen and other imperfect persons in the science of clothe making, dwellyng in villages in the contrey fell and begun to make clothe of the woolles of their own growyng and ingroced other wolles amongst thair neibours in soche wise as the clothiers of your said toun could gett no wolles but at unreasonable prices, the same clothiers wer compelled of necessitie to leave their occupyng and to forsake the said toun seking worke abroad, which was oon of the greatest causes of desolacion of the said toun. And so the said toun yerely fallyng more and more into ruyn and decaye for want of the substanciall nombre of clothiers as afore ther wer, fewe hable to beire the charges of the offices of Maier or Shirriffes but marchaunt men, grocers, mercers, haberdashers, whittawers, brewers and tanners, by whose occupying the meane sorte of people, as dyers, spynsters, fullers, tukkers and suche other as afore, had no proffit or lyvyng. And at this day, by reason the marchaunt men daylly have and have had so great losse in the sale of their clothes beyond the see, which is onely by reason of the untrue and false making therof, having had great losses upon the see as well by pirattes as other mysfortunes; and by reason of the premisses and of the smale trade and occupying of marchandise of so longe tyme to the said toun and the importune charges belongyng to the same offices over and besides the fee ferme of your Highnes which is yerely a hundred, fifty and twoo poundes and ten shillinges, your said pore subjectes be not hable to sustene the same, the said shirreffes thereby beyng constrayned to take the uttermost tolles and customes belongyng to the toun, so that by reason therof and other great charges in customes and other demaundes taken of straungers and other, more ther than in other places nere adjoyning to the said toun, the marchauntes straungers do refuse thidder to reasort. Which inconveniences be like yerely to be worse and worse, except your Highnes most gracious favour, helpe and socour be mercifully shewed for the relief of yor said pore subjectes in this thair necessite, havyng no other refuge, ayde or helpe but onely of your Highnes.

In consideracion wherof, it may pleas your Roiall Majestye to graunt unto the Maier and cominaltie of the said toun of Bristowe and to their successors dwelling and resident within the said toun and libertie of the same and to all other free burgeses that shall hereafter dwell and be resident within the same toun and liberties therof for the tyme of thair dwellyng and residence ther, to be fully, clerely and frely acquytted and discharged agaynst your Grace, your heires and successors, kinges of this Realme for ever, of yeldyng and payng of

their wyne of prisage. That is to sey, of one tonne afore the mast and another tonne behynd the mast, and be discharged therof agaynst your Grace, your heires and successors for ever, as well within the porte of your said toun of Bristow as in all other portes, creakes and places of this your realme in as large, free and ample wise as the cityzens of your Citie of London and barons and freemen of your Fyve Portes and your toun of Southampton be in like case acquyted and discharged of like prisage, the said Maier and cominaltie of your said toun paying unto your Highnes, your heirs and successors, for their said wyne all other customes and subsidies like as the citizens of your Citie of London and barons and freemen of your Fyve Portes do pay for their wyne and non otherwise. And also they to yeld and paye for and in discharge of your Highnes, your heires and successors, all and every suche tonnes of wyne and other porcions of prisage wyne as your Highnes or your progenitors have gevyn and graunted yerely of the same wyne to any house of religion, place or other person.

Item, where ther is payed in fees out of the said toun yerely to the Constable of your Highnes Castell of Bristowe, which castell is at this present houre in uttermost ruyn and serveth for no purpose, hit is only used with dele persons at the bowles and other unlawful games, the som of . . .² markes by the yere. It may pleas your Highnes to graunt unto your said subjectes, the Maier, cominaltie and thair successors the reversion of the said office which Sir John Seymour and Sir Edward Seymour, knights, now have, with the nominacion of the porter and wachemen ther and suche fees and wages as therunto belongeth in as large and ample maner as the same Sir John and Sir Edward or any other person have had and enjoyed in and for the exersysing of the same office. Which thing wolbe not only a great relef to your said subjectes but also shalbe a greate occasion for a remedy of the non usyng ther of the said unlawfull games.

And wher it is so that ther be diverse religious persons, gentlemen and other in the contrey inhabited nere to your Highnes said toun that for the zeale and love that they have to the prosperite of the same be mynded charitably to geve certain of their landes and goodes towards the purchasyng of so moche lande as shuld yerely pay your Highnes said fee ferme or a good parte therof, so that it myght like your Majestye of your most noble and habundant grace to graunt them facultie and licence to doo. Your said subjectes most humbly and lowly beseceth the same your Highnes to graunt unto them the same licence which wolle be a most speciall relefe and helpe of your said toun and subjectes. For which three your Graces grauntes your said orators shalbe contented to remitt all suche tolles, customes and other dueties as be used to be taken ther of any marchantes strangers, aswel denizen as other, of what nacion soever they be which wolbe the chefast and best way to cause them gladly to reasorte with thair marchandise to the said toun. Wherby in fewe yeres your Highnes customes, subsidies

² *Blank in MS.*

and dueties wolbe right largely avaunced, the toun and commons largely amended, the fee ferme of your said toun well and truly payed without dymynyshing and also the said toun by Goddes grace repared and repopelated.

S.P. 1/236/344-56.

2. THE PETITION AGAINST CANDLEMAS FAIR, c. 1543.

The Complaynt of the Marchauntes of Bristowe agaynst the Fayre of Candemas. Fyrst, the said marchauntes and owners of shippes of Bristowe do say that the contynuaunce of the said fayre shall be the utter distrucion and decay of the navy of the said towne by reason that all strangers of the parties of beyond the sea do resorte with their shippes and ballyngars unto the said towne purposly to serve the same fayre to th'entent the marchauntes strangers may by and sell with other strangers and foreners by the libertie of the said fayre so frely so that we the marchauntes of the said towne can have no suche utterance of the marchandises which we bryng whome in our owne shippis as we used to have in suche tyme before the said fayre was purchased. By reason wherof wheras our great shippis used to make ij or iij viages in the yere, nowe scarcely we make with them oon viage in the yere, so that for lak of utterance of our marchandizes we shall be compellid and constrained to give over our great shippes and to use ballyngars and suche other small vesselles to the utter decay of the navy of the said towne. And when that the navy decayeth and mynysshith then decayeth the marchauntes, consequently when the marchauntes fayleth or decayeth then decayeth the whole comons of the said towne, for by the trade of marchandizes and by marchauntes ar menteyned wevers, towkers, shermen, dyers, an infynyte nombre of pore people, as spynners and carders for the mayntenance of cloth makyng within the said towne. Besides this, the baker, bruer and bochor have dayly convenyent lyvyng for the provision of vitalles for the said shippes. And also there be no small nombre of maryners the which all their lyvyng do depende upon the navigacion of the flete of this towne, as it is well knowen. And those that be the suters for the mayntenance of the said fayre be towkers, wevers and vittailers who for to sell vitailles by the space of viij days in the faire tyme to a small profett (as God knoweth) do not consyder that all the yere after they have their lyvyng by the marchauntes abovesaid. So that if the said fayre have contynuaunce it shall be the utter undoyng to the said towkers and wevers, as by their impoverishyng dayly do appere for that in tymes past they were men of habilitie and of good substance, alweis redy to pay unto our Sovereigne Lord the Kyng their porcion of suche charges as the towne have byn appoynted to pay and nowe they be hable very lytle or nothyng.

Also all other occupiers the which have none other lyvyng but oonly

biyng and sellyng within this towne do saye that the contynuaunce of this fayre at Candemas will be also to their utter undoyng by reason that where in tymes past before the said fayre was used, all maner of strangers dyd resort with their shippes and ballyngars to this towne at all tymes in the yere, in suche wise that at their handes they bought their wares and marchandises of the strangers at suche a reasonable prise that they myght sell the same agayn to the naturalles of this land at suche tymes when they resorted to this towne at a convenient prise and havynge a sufficient gaynes by the same towards their lyvyng. Which trade was comonly every moneth in the yere, wheras now by reason of this fayre as well the strangers sellers as the stranger byer do appoynt to mete at the said fayre and then bargayneth together to the utter undoyng of the occupiers of this towne. And though the said strangers do com to this towne with their wares and marchandizes a moneth or ij before the said fayre begyn then they do putt up and house their said marchandizes in the common hall appoynted and by no meanes will make any sale therof to the inhabytantes of this towne but kepe it untill the fayre for their owne syngler advantage. The which in contynuaunce will be the utter undoyng and distruction of the said towne of Bristowe for ever. The which we pray God defend.

Frauncis Codrington	by me Wylliam Cokkes, marchant
John Gorney, marchaunt	by me James Chester, marchant
William Willet	by me Robert Pressey, merchant
John Chacfyld	by me Gorge Snyge
John Cutte, marchaunt	Thomas Tysson, marchaunt
John Barbour, marchaunte	by me Robart Gettons, marchaunt
Robert Young	by me William Kyrke, marchaunt
John Hancok	by me Arthur Smythe, marchaunt
John Spacheford, marchant	by me John Chancellor, marchantt
John Snyge, marchaunt	by me Thomas Shipman, marchaunt
John Cutt, marchaunt	by me Giles White, marchant
John Capes, marchaunt	by me William Car, marchaunt
Water Robarts, marchaunt	by me Thomas Hikys, marchaunt
Thomas Chestor, marchaunt	by me Francis Fuller, marchaunt
William Harves, marchaunt	Robart Bottlor, marchaunt
James Bayle, marchaunt	Nycollas Tyson, marchaunt
Fransys Wossely, marchant	by me Edward Pryn
per me Edward Butler, marchand	by me Allen Hill
per me William Blak, marchant	by me John Pytt
by me Nycholas Ware, marchant	by me John Pryn ³

From E 163/12/2⁴

³ Other merchants signed as members of the Town Council.

⁴ See also I. S. Leadam (ed.), *Select Cases before the King's Council in the Star Chamber*, Selden Society, xxv (1911) cii-cxxiv, 237-76.

3. A PETITION TO THE QUEEN, 1576.

In the Autumn of 1576 Robert Halton the City Chamberlain rode to London to execute various commissions.

Also I carried lettres to my Lord of Leycestre touching a sewte to be made to the Quenes Majestie for some reliefs in consideracion the losse of xiiij shippes and v barckes, the names and valewe of the shippes and goodes werre drawen owt in a bill, with a supplicacion to her Majestie which was shewyd to her Majestie by my Lord of Leycestre. At which losse her Majestie was verie sorie.

B.A.O. 04026(10)145.

4. A BRISTOL MERCHANT BANKRUPT, 1571.

A list of bankrupts in various parts of the kingdom and the sums for which they failed includes a Bristol man.

Brystowe: George Hygyns, merchaunt, B. for M^{li}
From B. M. Lansdowne MS. 13/13

5. THE PRIVY COUNCIL GRANTS THE BANKRUPT A LICENCE TO EXPORT GRAIN, 1575.

After our hartie commendacions, vearie earnest sute hath been made unto us in the behalfe of one George Higgens of the Cittie of Bristowe, marchant, that in the respecte of sundrie losses reseived at the seas, to his great decaie and hindraunce, he mought have licens to transport out of this Realme certen quantities of graine from places where it maie most convenientlie be spared. Upon consideration of which his petition and uppon understanding that some of his losses have growen in hir Majesties service, he being accompted in his dealinges a verie upright and substauncial occupier to the benefitte of his countrey, it hath been thought reasonable towards some parte of his relife that out of that countie of Norfolk he shoulde have licens to carrie awaie in to the partes beyond the seas the quantitie of one hundred quarters of wheat and thre hundred quarters of barley and barley malt, if so much of other of those kindes maie be spared without breeding scarsitie or grete inhancing of the price . . .

From S.P. 12/105/94.

6. A LICENCE TO EXPORT BUTTER, 1585.

Hir Majestie by lettres patentes under the Great Seale, date the viijth daie of Maie in the xxvijth yere of hir reigne, grawnteth license to Thomas Parrie, his factors and assignes etc., to provide and buie within the counties of Somersett, Glocester, Bristoll, Monmouthe and Glamorgan, yeerlie during the space of seaven yeres, the quantitie of v^c barrells of butter, and the same to transport apou the seas, without paieng anie customes or other duetie for the same.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 43/71.

7. A PETITION FROM RICHARD LOMBARD OF BRISTOL TO LORD BURGHLEY, 1577.

Lombard had been a merchant for many years and lived honestly at Bristol but for the past three years had suffered grevous misfortune. He is now completely destitute and must leave his wife and children as he can no longer support them or pay his creditors. He desires a licence to transport from Gloucestershire, Bristol or the River Severn 600 qr. of wheat or malt to Ireland free of custom and other dues.

S.P. 12/114/62.⁵

8. THE LICENCE WAS DEPOSITED IN THE CUSTOMS HOUSE AT GLOUCESTER.

A licence dated the xxij of June, 1584, graunted unto one Richard Lumbard, merchaunt of Bristoll by the Lorde High Treasurer of England by order of her Majesties Privie Councell for CC quarters of whete and CC quarters of malt to be by him transported into Ireland.

From S.P. 12/176/56.

9. A PETITION ON BEHALF OF RICHARD COLSTON, 1594.⁶

Right Honorable, our bounden dutie remembred. This bearer, Richard Colstone, deputed for one Shore (late a waytor for the porte of Bristoll) under whome havinge supplied (as duetie and the place required) did no doubt duringe his contynuaunce therein, performe sufficient and acceptable service. Now for that the office, since the diceasse of the saide Shore, hath bene voyde and onlie at your Lordships pleasure to dispose, he therefore desirous to prefer an humble petition unto your good Lordship for the renewinge of his former deputacion by your Honor, hath earnestlie moved us to encommend the same unto your Honours favor, the which we have thought good (by him) to tender unto your Lordship, most humble praieng your good acceptaunce. The poore mans former admittaunce under the saide Shore was so overcharging unto his owne weake abillitie, besides the strayinge of his friendes, that unles your Lordships favorable benignitie be now extended, both he, his wife and six smale children are like to be utterlie undoon. The man was sometyme heretofore a merchaunt of good abilletie, thowghe since by reason of greate losses at sea and other hinderaunces decayed. We never understoode but that he was allwaies inclyned to carrie himselfe honestlie behaved and onlie beseechinge that your Lordship vowtsafe to commisserate the poore mans cause with your woonted honorable

⁵ *S.P. 12/114/63 is a copy.*

⁶ *See p. 73*

consideracion, and he with his wife and children, besides our hartiest praiers, shall contynuallie be bounde in all desire unto God for your Lordships longe life with much increase of honor. Bristoll, the xxviij of Januarie, 1594

Your Honors most humble at commaund,

Mycell Pepwall, Mayor
John Browne, Alderman
Thomas Colsen, Alderman
Richarde Cole, Alderman
Wyllyam Hickes, Alderman
Robart Kitchen, Alderman

S.P. 12/247/24.

10. THE REPLY OF BRISTOL TO THE PETITION OF GLOUCESTER TO BE AN INDEPENDENT PORT, 25 May, 1584.

Bristowe is scytuated in an angle betwene the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, maynteyned onlie by the trade of merchandizes and makinge and ventinge of collored clothes for the sea, made in Bristowe and in Somersetsheire, wherewith manye thousandes of handy-croftesmen have ben set awoorke and maynteyned. And they have also greate store of ledde oute of Somersetsheire with which there trade of marchaundizes they have alwaies sufficientlie served as well all the countries adjoyninge to the sayde cytie as also all townes and countries lyenge uppon and nere abowte the Ryver of Severne and the creeks of the same as farre inwarde toward the lande as to the towne of Shresburye.

There is belonging to Bristow betwene Somerset and Gloucestersheire a sufficient porte for shippes of all bourdens to ryde and fleete in, wherein hathe byne builded and maynteyned from tyme to tyme as manie greate serviceable shippes as in anye poorte in this her Majesties dominion, London excepted. And there hathe byn broughte and trayned upp as manie skylfull maryners as to suche shippinge shoulde belonge and more which serve in dyverse other places . . .

The Bristolians then argued that all the creeks should remain part of the port of Bristol because they had no facilities for great ships and Gloucester was an inland town dependent on industry rather than trade. The decay of Bristol would mean the encouragement of piracy and smuggling, a fall in the customs dues and fewer men to serve in Ireland.

The trade and shippinge of Bristowe is alreadie so decayed by reason of the premises that they have donne awaye and must do awaye their greate shippinge and have offered the same to be solde to their great losse for, althoughe the greate shippes be more worthier and

serviceable, yet are the smale sorte more profytable for the merchauntes and better chepe to be fraighted and will turne and wynde in narrow places . . .

From B.M. Harleian MS. 368/106.⁷

11. A LETTER FROM THE LORD ADMIRAL, 1597.

After my hartie commendacions, whereas by lettres lately sente hyther as well from some of the Aldermen of that Cyty, the officers of her Majesties customes and dyvers honeste merchauntes there, yt appereth that notwithstandinge the effectinge longe since of the imprest of the mariners appoynted to be levied owte of that porte for her Majesties service, neverthelese the restraint of shippinge contynueth still to the great hinderaunce of her Majesties customes and the decay of the generall state of the citie, this harde tyme of dearth considered. These are therefore to requier you and the rest at all tymes when any warrantes shall come thether hereafter from me for restraynte of shippinge or impressinge of maryners for her Majesties service, that you be carefull to see the same speedily perfourmed, with all diligence and care you may, and afterwarde in my name to signifie unto the marchauntes that my pleasure ys that the said restraints formerly made of shippinge shall cease, and that the marchauntes shalbe permitted to proceede in their trade notwithstandinge any restraints to the contrary. And in case any warrantes come thether from me for any generall stay of shippes, that then yet duringe the said restrainte, you permitt the smaler shippes under lx tonnes to trade in places in amitie with her Majestie uppon bandes taken of them in the custome howse to retorne within one moneth or sixe weekes at the furthest. And soe wishinge you to be carefull accordingly to the effectinge hereof from tyme to tyme as occasion shalbe offered, I bid you farewell, from the Courte at Greenwich, the last of May, 1597,

Your lovinge freinde,

Charles Howard.

To my lovinge frendes, the Mayor of the Cyty of Bristoll for the tyme beinge, the Viceadmirall, and to the offycers of her Majesties customes within that porte.

B.A.O. 04264 (1)9.

12. AN ORDER FOR LARGE CARGOES TO BE SHARED, 1595.

xx die decembris, anno Reginae Elizabethae etc., xxxviij, 1595.

It is ordered and agreed that whensoever anye bargaine shalbe made by any burgesse of the Cittie for any goodes or merchandizes above the value of CC^{li} with any forryner or straunger to the liberties of this Cittie or any that shall deale for the sale of any suche goodes or

⁷ See also *B.M. Lansdowne MS. 40/39, S.P. 46/17/68-70, 73-7, 83-7.*

merchandize within this Cittie, the Mayor and some Aldermen shalbe made acquaynted therewith by the buyer or buyers therof. And that the said Mayor and Aldermen shall have the third part of suche goodes or merchandize to dispose thereof to the comen good and benefit of suche Cittizens as shalbe desirous to buy anye suche goodes or merchandizes, the saide Mayor and Aldermen taking order for the paiement for the same accordinge to suche prices as have byn agreed for upon such bargaine made as aforesaide and as shall appeare by the brokers bookes.

B.A.O. 04272/63v.

13. A PETITION FROM THE BRISTOL CITY COUNCIL TO LORD BURGHLEY FOR FREEDOM TO TRADE TO THE LEVANT, 1597.

Righte honorable, our humble dewties remembred, whereas the merchauntes of this Cittie are prohibited to sende their shippes to Venice or to any place within the territories thereof or to Turkey or Barberye in trade of merchandize, by reason that the merchauntes of London have heretofore obtayned her Majesties lettres patentes incorporatinge and authorizinge them only to traffique in those partes, whereby the merchauntes heere, being barred of their accustomed trade with Spayne and Portingall, are exceedinglie hindrede and distressed, to the greate decaye and impoverishment of this cittie, havinge verye small trade for the mayntenaunce of their shippinge. Wee are therefore moved in this behalfe to become moste humble suytors to your honour that your good lordshippe will vouchesaffe to extende your honorable favoure towards the merchauntes of this cittie for their releif herein, and that by your honorable meanes they maie obteyne libertie to traffique and sende their shippes to any place within the Straighes. And that at their retorne home they maie dischardge the same without payeing any impositions or exacions to the saied incorporated merchauntes of London, and that the Customers of the portes heere maye receyve the entryes of suche shippes and merchandizes as shall come from any of the places aforesaide, the saide lettres pattentes graunted to the merchauntes of London notwithstandinge. Wherein bothe wee and the whole cittie shall most dewtifullie acknowledge your honours goodnes, and soe moste humblie comende your honour to the most holie protection of th' Almightye. Bristoll this xxth October, 1597,

Your honours moste humble at comaundmente,

John Webbe, Mayor
Thomas Aldworth, Alderman
Watar Stanfast, Alderman
Fraunces Knight, Alderman
Wyllyam Parphey, Alderman
William Ellys, Alderman

Endorsed: To the righte honourable our verye good lorde, the Lorde Heighe Treasurer of England.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 84/24.

14. A PETITION FROM THE BRISTOL CITY COUNCIL TO LORD BURGHLEY FOR THE RIGHT TO TRADE TO TURKEY AND VENICE, 1598.

The great mysery and calamitie, Right Honorable, within this cittie of Bristoll by reason of the want of trade into the partes of Spayne and Portugall for the uttering of wollen clothes heretofore usuallie died and wrought in theis partes is such as large streates of diers, weavers and clothworkers here which did keepe one with an other at the least sixe or eight men at worke are now goers from dore to dore to begge their bread. Wherebie it ys greatlie to be feared that neither the fee fearme, fifteenthes nor subsidies will be hereafter levied, and the customes which have byn heretofore the greatest in England, saving London, wilbee utterlie decayed and the shipping which this porte did yelde for service will be sould awaie, and the maryners here dymynished and no service here hence to be expected. Which we humblie desire maie be prevented by your honourable wisdom in licencing the cittizens of Bristoll to trade yerely to the Seigniories of Venice and Turkie with such shippes or shippe and for such consideracion towards the patentees as to your wisdom shalbee thought fytt which we humblie submytt to your honorable consideracion beseching your Lordshippe to be enformed that the Londoners of late tyme have monopolized not onelie the greatest parte of forrayne places of comerce but the iron of Wales, the leadde of Mendippe and the calamyne stone, being the commodities of theis partes. And not therewith content, but have and doe marchandize in all those poore and fewe places where the inhabitantes of this cittie do trade and eftsoones make returne to this cittie with their wares, claymyng here such and the like priviledges and imunities as they have in London, and do collourable keepe shoppes all most in everie markett towne. The redresse wherof is humblie expected from your Lordshippe, in whom under God it resteth, for both which we her Majesties lovinge subjectes, cittizens here, according to our bounden dutyes daylie praye unto God for the longe and prosperous contynuance of your Lordshippe, with encrease of honor. This xxth of Januarie, 1598.

Your Lordshippes most humble
in all duetie at comaundement

John Webbe, Mayor
George Snygge, Recorder
Thomas Alder, Alderman
William Hyckes, Alderman
William Yate, Alderman
John Hopkenes

Endorsed: To the right honorable Barron Burleighe, Lord Highe Treasurer of Englande.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 86/13.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRENDS OF TRADE

15. THE PORT OF BRISTOL, 1565.

A commission to Anthony Standbank, Mayor of the City of Bristol, Richard Berkeley, David Harris and Nicholas Williams to survey the port of Bristol and their answers to the interrogatories.

In primis, to the first Article, we the saide Commissioners saye that the saide porte of Bristowe is comunly frequented and haunted with traffique of merchauntes and merchaundizes bothe inwarde and outwarde and ys mete to have contynuance for that purpose and ys one of the principall portes of thys realme and a place where great traffique and trade of merchaundizes ys used.

Item, to the seconde Article we saye that the same porte ys not decayed but in good state and well frequented and haunted with merchauntes and merchaundizes (as above saide) and no creeke thereunto belongyng so frequented.

Item, to the thirde Article, we saye that no custome house dothe belonge to the saide porte, but that the customers doo heare a howse for that purpose of one Wyllyam Tucker of Bristowe, draper, from yere to yere. Whiche Wyllyam Tucker hathe a state for tearme of yeaes in the same. And the saide customers paye to hym for the same house xlvj^s viij^d a yere and that the inheritaunce of the same apperteyneth to Rowlande Okever of London, myllyner. And that the same howse stondeth very aptelye for the service of the Quenes Highnes and ys in good reparacions and that the same reparacions ys borne by the saide Wyllyam Tucker.

Item, to the fourthe Article, we also saye that to the saide porte doo belonge fiftie and nyne creekes, kayes, pylls and havens, which be in thies presentes hereafter named with their distances from the saide porte and their distances one from another, togyther with names of the shires into the which they doo extende . . .

Goods are imported and exported from many creeks illegally.

Item, to the xjth Article, we awnswere that diverse persons do with their plowes bringe corne, grayne, leather, calfe skynnes, victualles and other commodities of this realme to botes, barckes and vesselles lyeng at the bankes of the saide River of Severne at full sea and there doo

lade the same into the saide botes and vesselles secretlye in the night and from thense do transporte the same into diverse partes beyonde the seas and to other portes and crekes within the realme without licence or aunsweryng of the Quenes dueties . . .

From E 159/350 Hil. 348 r, v, seq.

16. A PETITION FROM BRISTOL FOR THE FARM OF THE CUSTOMS IN THE PORT, 1570.

xxiiij^{cio} die Novembris anno Reginae Dominae Elizabethe, etc. decimotercio.

Memorandum, that the daye and yeare above written it is ordeyned and agreed by the worshippefull William Tucker, Maior of the Citey of Bristoll, the Aldermenn and others of the Commen Counsell, beinge then and ther assembled, that ther shoulde be suyte made to the Lordes of the Counsell to take the Queens customes of this porte of Bristoll in farme to the Maior and Cominaltie of this Citey. To the which intente twentie and seven of the saide Counsell did gyve their voyces and divers of the residewe affirminge that they likede well therof and woulde gyve their voyces accordinge yf they hadde not passede their promysse otherwise before they knewe any suche suyte shoulde be made for the Chamber.

B.A.O. 04272/28r.

17. THE MAYOR TOOK THE PETITION TO LONDON.

In the tenth week of the Michaelmas quarter, the Mayor rode to London to obtain the renewal of various privileges, such as the Commission of Oyer and Terminer, the Admiralty Court and lastlie to follow the sewte for the ferming of the customs. He saw the Earl of Leicester, to whome I did not onlie shewe certeyne articles, which touched the inconveniences that will grow to the citie yf the ferme of the customs werre permmittid to a private man, but also I declared my mynd to his Lordship how convenient it was for the Mayer and Cominaltie.

From B.A.O. 04026(9)98

18. A SURVEY OF SMUGGLING IN THE PORT OF BRISTOL, 1565.

A commission to Anthony Stanbank, Mayor of Bristol, Sir Walter Dennys, Sir George Norton, Richard Berkeley and Robert Brayne to make enquiry into the extent of smuggling and corruption in Gloucestershire and Bristol, with the names of all offenders. They reported that since November, 18 ships had arrived in Bristol laden with French wine. Their total tonnage was 958 tons but only 398 tons of wine were entered in the Contrroller's book and since the previous September ships with a total tonnage of 1,563 tons had arrived in the port but only 1,072 tons of merchandise were entered in the customs books. Goods carrying little or no duty were declared in place of those

highly taxed, for example fish or resin instead of wine, and there were many other irregularities.

And as unto anything inquirable in the Countie of Gloucester by force of this Commyssion, we coulde not execute the same for the greate busynes we have had in and aboute the premysses inquirable in the porte and Countie of Bristoll . . .

From E 159/350 Hil. 351r, v, seq.

19. ANOTHER COMMISSION CONCERNED WITH SMUGGLING, 1577.

Men from Newnham, Pirton and Gatcombe were summoned to Bristol to answer the Queen's commissioners about the landing and lading of merchandise in those creeks where it was not allowed by law.

From B.A.O. 04026(10)152.

20. CUSTOMS EVASION IN THE PORT OF BRISTOL.

1516 *William ap Howell, deputy of John Westowe, searcher in Bristol, reported that he had seized one russet coloured cloth and one piece of woollen cloth called a coarse Broadmead, the goods of John Grene and Thomas Tyson, merchants of Bristol, in the ship Mary Tower of Bristol, laden for export uncustomed.*

E 159/295 Trin. 13r.

1535 *Henry Jones reported that Nicholas Thorne had shipped in the Mathew a pack containing 9 broad cloths of various colours for export uncustomed.*

E 159/312 Mich. 7r & v.

1537 *Edward Stanbank reported that Domyngo de Subieta, alien merchant, had entered in the customs books 20 tons of iron in the name of John Shipman, merchant denizen.*

E 159/316 Mich. 17r.

1547 *Edward Stanbank reported that William Hill had seized at Bristol coal to the value of 40s. goods of a merchant unknown, shipped for export uncustomed.*

E159/324 Mich. 11r.

1564 *John Parnell, Roger Ratchlyff and Richard Maunsell of Keynsham reported that William Carre and John Carre, merchants of Bristol, had imported into Bristol 4 weys pepper, 1 wey cloves, 1 wey mace, 1 wey cinnamon and 2 weys ginger, their own goods, which were not entered in the books of John Young at Bristol.*

E 159/348 Mich. 28r & v.

1568 *Thomas Kelke and Henry Pomery reported that in 1549 Randall Wilborn and William Hill had exported 10 dickers of leather on a coastal cocket issued at Gloucester, to be surrendered at Bristol within 14 days on penalty of £20. Wilborn and Hill, imprisoned by the Bristol sheriffs, appealed to the Exchequer Court, pleading that the*

leather had been loaded at Gloucester into a trow called the *Mary Slugg* for delivery in Bristol, but they were caught by a storm off Aust in the Bristol Channel and, in great danger, fearing for their lives, were driven to Galicia in Spain, against their will and intention.¹ They were almost destitute and could not pay the penalty.

E 159/357 Mich. 524r, v & seq.

1587 Arthur Panter, waiter at Bristol, reported that he had seized in a cellar at Bristol 6 tons of wood called *brasyll fernand buck*, also called *blockwood* or *logwood*, goods of a merchant unknown, landed at St. Augustine's Back secretly at night from a woodbush called the Peter of Tintern.

E159/393 Mich. 3r & v.

1588 Arthur Panter reported that he had seized 7 tons of salt, imported but uncustomed, stored in Nicholas Hill's cellar. He left it in Hill's custody but Edward Worrall, merchant of Bristol, came armed to the cellar, threatened Hill and took away the salt.

E 159/394 Easter 20r.

1596 Thomas Slade, servant of William Colston, reported that Colston had seized from a ship at Crokerne Pill 50 pairs of woollen nether-stockes the previous November and in March from another ship 50 pairs, the goods of a merchant unknown, laden for export uncustomed.

E 159/411 Trin. 1r & v.

21. ATTEMPTED EVASION OF THE NAVIGATION ACTS.

1515 Richard Symondes of Bristol, merchant, appeared in the Exchequer Court and, quoting the Navigation Act of 4 Henry VII that gascon wine and woad were to be imported in English ships with an English master and mariners, said that Thomas Lichfeld, merchant denizen, brought from overseas to Cardiff 7 tons of gascon wine in a Breton ship with a foreign master and mariners. From there the wine was shipped to Bristol. Lichfeld argued that the ship was the *George* of Swansea and the master and most of the mariners were English or Welsh.²

E 159/294 Mich. 31v, 32r & v.

¹ So frequently was this defence used that the Exchequer clerks had a Latin formula for it.

² See *E 404/90*, 27 January, 1516. Most French ships landed their wine at Chepstow to evade the law. On the other hand, this may have been one of the ships that suffered a temporary change of ownership when it reached Lundy. J. Bernard, "Les expédients du commerce anglo gascon après la conquête française: ventes réelles et fictives de navires", *Annales du Midi*, lxxviii (1966), 263-70.

22. THE EVASION OF PRISAGE, 1511.

fo. 2r.

The *Mary Tower* come from Seynt Lucas the ixth day of January, receivid oute of her my servaunt markid a noder ton of wyne in the same shipp of one John Halles of Bristowe. Notwithstanding, by force he causid it to be caried to his howis and so I can gett nothing of hym therfor.

j ton wyne

The *Trenyte Grace* com from Burdeux the xiiij day of January, receivid oute of her

ij ton wyne

The *Mary Grace*, otherwise callid the *Mary Moton*, com from Sent Lucas the xvth day of January, Jamys Henne master. The same shipp was ij ton priseable and the same master wold nott suffer me to mark eny wyne in the same shipp. And one John Numan th'ellder of Bristowe bocher, was suerty that the same prise wyne shold be paid in mony, notwithstanding I can nott gett it.

Item, receivid of Martyne Depyne for butlarage of xlvj ton wyne that com in the *Mary Lotyday* that com from Burdeux the xvth day of January at iij^s the ton

iiij^d xij^s

fo. 2v

The *Barbara* of Bristowe, Davy Non master, com from Seynt Lucas the xxij day of January, receivid oute of her

a pype wyn

And the same shipp was prisable ij ton, howe be it I coude gett no more, for William Lane and William Geffreys, owners of the same shipp and the forsaid master and the purser wold not suffer me to mark eny more in the shipp. And the same purser, by the mayntenaunce and setting awork of the forsaid Lane, had nerhand mischevid my servaunt, he beyng about his besynesse aboard the same shipp.

From E 101/85/11 fo. 2r and v.

23. A REPORT TO LORD BURGHLEY ON SMUGGLING IN THE WEST COUNTRY, 1577.

Instruccions to your Honour of the practises and devises used and executed within the whole realme by the marchauntes to defraude her Majestie of prizage.

1. Item, that customablie and commonlie they doe bringe home in their shippes of wyne whoe is due to paye prisage, ix ton, ix ton pype or ix ton pipe hogshed, and noe more, as in the porte of Bristowe there aryved vj shippes and barkes in like manner since Michaellmas laste, 1577, and the yeare before x ships in the same order, as by the custome bookes it dothe appeare, and in suche sorte in all the weste partes, and the rest of their ladinge beinge wines suggested to be the goodes of Londoners, of marchauntes aliens or els of marchauntes free of the Fyve Portes which doe owe noe prizage, as they saye.

2. Item, one other fraude is used that when shippes be laden for places moste to her Majesties benefyte and comoditie they will in their waye homewardes touche in some porte or creke where they will breake bulke and there sett on lande ij or iij tonnes of wine and bringe a certificate to th' other places where her Majestie is beste answered that dueties is paid where indede yt is judged that she is of a more parte deceived then of prisage, and of prisage moste certaine for that they will bringe noe certificate but from suche places as her Majestie is not paide halfe soe muche there as she ought to be in the place whereunto she is laden, as Exeter and Bristowe can well wittnes, by breakinge such bulkes in Cornewalle where her Majesties due is verye smale.

3. Item, another fraude to defeate prizage, a Englishe marchaunte and marchauntes will compacte with marchaunte strainger to deliver a ship of wyne in this realme at a price certaine which they pretendethe owethe noe prizage. And as sone as it is landid it is theires that compaked, as for example there arived in Bristowe at Februarye laste a shippe with lxxij tons of gascon wyne agreed for in Fraunce by a marchaunt of that cittie, beinge factor as well for others as for himselfe, whoe were perteners of the saide wyne assone as they were landid. Every marchaunt toke his share accordinge to his quantitie of wares that they sent into Fraunce to exchange therfore and soe every man had accordinge to his porcion who neither did ne woulde aunswerre anye prisage.

4. Item, one deceipte more and verye greivous which is that an Englishe marchaunte will lade an Englishe shippe ix ton pype of wyne and bringe in the same shippe nere xxx tons more of straingers wyne and some times more. And nowe this last ventage came into Bristowe a ship of a marchauntes of this cittie laden with bastardes, but for himselfe ix ton pype and for a marchaunte strainger in the same ship laden above xx^{tie} tons and consigned to that Englishe marchaunte and owner who reported in the custome house that he layed that platte before his ship departed from home that he shoulde aunswerre noe prizage at her retorne.

Marginal note: Kytchyn, a man of Bristoll to be sent for by process.

The writer goes on to suggest several possible remedies for these abuses.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 25/88.

24. A LETTER FROM LORD TREASURER WINCHESTER TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL, 1561.

After my right hartly comendacion, sins the new impost apon wyne and cloth all merchauntes haunting Bristow for ther trade mak ther charter parties and ther cokettes to Chepstow and such oder places, wher the Quenes Majestie hath no custom nor have hadd of long tyme, till now of late I have forced them by the law to pay the Quenes Majestie for tonnage and pondage . . .

From S.P. 12/19/20.

25. BRISTOL MERCHANTS LANDING WINE AT CHEPSTOW, 1564.

Rychard Newton of Tawnton in the countie of Somerset, marchaunt, of th'age of xxxiiij yeres, sworne and examyned to the fyrste, upon his othe dothe say and depose that he well remembreth there arryved at Chepstowe in the county of Monmouth thre severall straingers shippes, twoo of them laden with wyne and the other before the comyng of this deponent thether discharged of his wyne, betwene the fyrst of June, anno 1564 and the laste of July then nexte folowyng. Which wyne of the too shippes were there discharged and put on lande to his certen sighte and knowledge. And the wyne of the other third shippe sellered there in the saide towne of Chepstowe before the comyng of this deponent to the same towne.

Item, to the seconde he deposeth and sayeth that, to his remembryng, the first of the saide thre shippes was of the burden of xxxix tonnes or thereabouts, the ladyng whereof was on lande before the comyng of this deponent thither as before is saide. The seconde was of the burden of xxxvij or xxxviii tonnes by reporte and the thirde of the burden of fyfye tonnes or above, as this deponent remembreth.

Item, to the thirde he deposeth that notwithstanding the burdens of the saide shippes before declared, he thinketh that the firste of the saide shippes did not discharge above the nomber of xxxiiij tonnes, the second thirty tonnes and the thirde xxxix or xl tonnes.

Item, to the fourthe he deposeth that at the landing of the saide wyne in the saide three shippes before mencioned, one Wylliam Jeyne who is now one of the defendauntes and Martyn Barlowe, servaunte or factor unto Thomas or Domynicke Chester, marchauntes of Bristoll, were there present, who had the custody of the saide wyne and made sales thereof and, as he supposeth, paide all the charge for the same.

Item, to the fifte he deposeth that about the same tyme, one John Leeke, pretending to be the Quenes customer was then in Chepstowe, who then demaunded of this examynate the subsidie of the tonage, but whether the said subsidie were demaunded or answered for the saide thre shippes ladyng before mencioned or no he knoweth not.

Item, to the vij this examine deposeth that too of the saide shippes came thither freighted with gascoigne wyne and the other with wyne of Nauntes or wyne called Wyne of Courte, being white. And

touching the oners of the same this deponent doth not certesly knowe but he saieth that the said William Jeyne and Marten Barlowe made sale of the same. And more in this matier this deponent nowe remembreth not, by me Richarde Newton . . .

From E 159/350 Easter 418.

25. BRISTOL MERCHANTS LANDING WINE AT ILFRACOMBE, 1585.

A complaint from the farmer of the customs on wines at Bristol that local merchants land wine at Ilfracombe to avoid payment of dues.

And in that creeke (good my Lord) th' allowans for a ton prisage to her Majestie of aunicyent costome but xlv^s, and here iiij^d . . .

From S.P. 12/176/2.

27. TROUBLE WITH THE CUSTOMS MEN.

Brother, herewith I doo send yow yowr cokett with the lettur which was sent by Redde, which is iiij way xx bushels, as I perceyve. And now ye shall understand that I have hadd much talke with the Custumer and Comptroller, who be honest men but yott (beyng enformed) must nedes doo that they wold nat willyngly. And therfore I pray God send tyme for that pynnas that she may depart, otherwise I feare me the officers must nedes cumm aboard and for ther owne discharge doo harme, for here is no smalle talke of her and yett I consider that it is not mete she shuld be frome the shipp. Wherefore I pray God send yow a good tyme that ye may be out of this place of exclamacion. And for such thinges as be behynd (God willyng) we shall wirck thatt they shalbe saved with smalle losse and if ye will cumm up this nyght ye shall nede to feare nothyng and then we may apoynt what thynges be nedefull and send downe with the bote. Yowr men did cast out that weate geare³ yesterday openly which is talked of here.

Yowr lovyng brother,
William Tyndale.

Endorsed

To my Broother this be delivered.

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 124.

28. WHEAT SEIZED FROM TYNDALL'S BOAT, 1558.

William Harvest, servant of the searcher at Bristol, reported in the Exchequer Court that on the 5th August, 1558 at Bristol he had seized 40 qr. of wheat from the Margaret of Elmore, loaded by an unknown merchaunt for transhipment at Kingroad into the ship Caesar bound for a foreign port. The Margaret was confiscated and valued at £10.⁴

E 159/340 Easter 97r.⁵

³ This may mean the mats which were used in stowing the wheat.

⁴ The Margaret belonged to William Tyndall, the Caesar to his brother, Robert. Robert redeemed the Margaret after his brother's death.

⁵ See also E 159/339 Mich. 38r and v.

29. THE COMPLAINTS OF THE CUSTOMER AND CONTROLLER AT BRISTOL, 1580.

Where it pleased your Honour in mysommer terme laste to passe unto me the Custumership of Bristoll outwarde, with greate charge of my good service therein, which I am altogether unhable to performe unlesse your Honors assistaunce be bent towards me for redresse of theis abuses followinge:

1. Fyrste, we fynde by the orders which are for our service that the customer and comptroller and theire deputies shoulde, from tyme to tyme when it shalbe thoughte expedyent, survey all shippes and vesselles goinge outwarde and likewise every searcher and his deputies doinge outwarde for the better answeringe of the Quenes Majesties customes and forfeitures there uppon.

2. The searcher and his deputie shoulde give knowledge openly in the custom house to the customer and comptroller a daye or two before at what dey and tide everye shippe within their search goinge outwarde by waye of merchaundize or otherwise (by a certificat) proposeth to departe.

3. Item, we fynde in the custome house a booke wherein all seasures have ben openly entred for the better answeringe of her Majestie.

We have required this service of the searcher, who answereth as followeth:

1. To the firste, that the customer and comptroller hath not to deale in anythinge aborde the shippe, but in the custome house.

2. To the seconde, that he knoweth not when the shippinge is readye to departe.

3. To the thirde, that his credit is sufficient to enter the seasures into th'Exchequer.

But where diverse seasures are made, we fynde there no entry. Yf the whole credytt of her highenes service in our porte shalbe in the searcher and his deputie, who for his parte comes not theare in viij wekes together and the deputie of no credyt, neyther sworne, your Honor shall fynde that in shorte tyme, the country shall receyve great dearth thereby.

We receyved a letter from your Honor that no corne nor victuall should passe out of our charge but only for the realme of Ireland. We have taken paynes to make stay of shippinge which hathe ben laden with corne and transported for Spayne, but they resisted us and put us in greate hasarde of our lyves and so passed out of our porte. Therefore, unlesse it may please your Honor to take suche order as wee, her known officers may come aborde their shippes to surveye the entries which they shall from tyme to tyme make unto us without

resistaunce of any in the shippes, which may be done if the owner and owners of everye shippe doe enter into bande to her Majestie when they doe enter their shipp that we may quietlie goe aborde them. The bandes so taken maye be redelivered xx^{ti} dayes after the shipp is passed out of our charge. And, unlesse we fynde redresse herein by your Honor, we shall not be hable to do her Majestie service, neyther discharge our consciences.

Where it pleased your Honor for aide herein to referr me to Master Fanshawe, whose answer is that I shall have processe from him to call the parties so offending into th' Exchequer, that course will not only offende your Honor, but also be a longe trouble for us.

Your Honors to comaunde,

John Androwes

Bartyllmey Cook.

S.P. 12/136/25.

30. A LETTER FROM BURGHLEY FORBIDDING THE EXPORT OF WHEAT, 1584.⁶

After my hartie commendacions, wheras I am given to understande that divers persons have heretofore and at this presente doe lade greate quantities of wheat with intende to transporte the same into Spaigne in disordered manner, as well to the offence of her Majesties subjectes in those partes, causinge the enhaunsinge of the prices as to the hinderaunce of the provisions for hir Majesties service for Ireland; and for as much as I understand that at this present ther are laden or in ladinge certeine vessels with quantities of wheate to be transported as before; theis are to will and requier you to cause the wheate for the said transportacions or such parte therof as shalbe thought fitt to John Blande, surveior of her Majesties victuels ther, to be delivered and solde unto him at such price as wheat was comonly solde in the markett befor his late ladinge or att such price as the same was bought by them, beinge reasonable, for which he shall paye unto them readye money. And lickwiese to take order that he maye have such of those barkes which *were* to have transported the same wheate as he shall thincke fitt, to carie the same into Ireland, for which such allowance of freight shalbe made by them as formerlye in licke service for hir Majestie hath ben used. And this you shall doe notwithstandinge any color or shew of any licence whatsoever, prayeinge you hereafter as occacion maye requier to yelde your assistance to the officers of the porte there to restraine anie licke disorders. And soe I bide you farwell from the Courte, this xth of February, 1584.

Your lovinge frend,

Burgley.

B.A.O. 04264(1)3.

⁶ See *B.A.O. 04721/501r & v. for similar letters from Burghley to the Mayor and to the Customers in April of the same year.*

31. CUSTOMS FRAUDS IN KINGROD AND THE RIVER SEVERN, 1588.

After the shippis hath taken in at the Key and Hungrode lawfull merchandice, then the shippis goes into Kingrode and thear rides to take in victuell and prohibited merchandice which comes to them owt of Wales or Glocester in woodbusshis or trowes a tide or two before they make saile when thease victuell and merchandice is aborde the shippis, woodbusshis or trowes, then they ar so provided with unlawfull weapons as bills, javelins, bowes, arroes, gones and desperate hired cutters owt of Wales which will use most dishonest speechis, so that no officer shall enter aborde them, but such as they ar sure of and divers shippis doth take in their ladinge in Kingrode because they will stoe their victuell and prohibited merchandice in such manner that no officer shall finde the same without unromynging of all the goods in the shipp which is a great chardge and trouble to do in that wilde rode.

If the honors of the shippis in Kingrode or company aborde them do suspect the comynge of any officers aboard when thease victuell and prohibited merchandice ar aboard when they ride in Kingrode, then theie will by shypinge of an ancker fall into the Wellsh rode which is adjoyninge to Kingrode and, beinge in the Welsh rode they are in my Lord of Worcesters lybertie and thearfore owt of controllment of the officers of Bristoll.

If the merchantis cannot perceave it for their best to torne to thease shiffes aforesaid, then theie will appoint the woodbusshes and trowes to meete them when they are under saile with thease victuell and unlawfull merchandice and so come to them with desperate weapons and hired cutters by the cullor of a cockett or warrant made in a shumakers or a bakers name which never was acquainted thearwith, which is made by some of the officers aforesaid to pas to some other porte or creeke there unto adjoyninge which hath not use for the same victuell and merchandice and thease cocketes the officers doth not use to chardge their custome bookes with, wheras they ought to sett downe the whole quantety and quallity in the custome booke at the makinge of the cockett and thease officers do not deliver their bookes into the Exchquier but to the Auditor of that cockett.

If they cannot shifte uppon the above wrytten, after theie have taken in lawfull merchandice here, then they will saile to Pennarte, Barrey, Abberthaw, Myneheade or some other creeke in Seaverne and thear ride to take in victuell and prohibited merchandice for their is no ladinge for them. So long as thease matches may bee made in Seaverne wee shall have verie littell of the comodities which thease countries do yeelde brought to markettes or faires which causeth the corse of the inhabitation generall of the countries adjoyninge uppon Seaverne.

If the merchantis suspect that their indirecte dealings wilbe called in question by way of informacion, then theie will procure some freinde of theirs with all speede to informe against them, wherby they prevent all others.

And to avoide themsellis from the bands and payeng of Dover

pence they will enter their shipp and merchandice for Garnesey or some other porte within this lande.

Divers seasures ar made heare by the officers and her Majestie hath not her part therof. If the last orders were directly observid then this abuse would be taken awaye.

When we charge the masters, pursers and boatswaines at their retorne for not observe the Statute of Primo of her Majestie and the orders of the Exchequir which doth concerne them, then the master doth objecte that they comes not aboard till the shipp is reddey to make saile in Kingrode, and the pursers and boateswaines then doth aleidge that it is to muche for them to rone owte of Kingrode where they take in ladinge, when the shipp is already to make saile and deliver in a bill of that ladinge as they ought to do before they departe, and for us to followe them by informacion it is to much to our chardges and spendinge of tyme.

fo. 25v

The writer then describes the refusal of the master and merchants lading the ship Jonas for La Rochelle in January, 1588, to comply with the regulations. The deputy of the customs farmer,⁷ however, gave them his warrant so that they were able to sail, but Thomas Parry with his licence to search for butter unlawfully laden found 31 kinderkins on the ship before she could clear the port. The deputy is also accused of keeping the money taken in bonds for the return to port of all ordnance shipped.

In thease respectes the lyeng of the rodes and their ladinge of victuell and prohibited merchandice theare and the portes and nomber of creekes which ar thear unto adjoyninge within the reache of one tyde which yeelde nothinge else but victuell and prohibited merchandice, and for that they have fower howers more heare to lade and to take the advantage of the springe tydes and suddant falling of the tydes for their lading then they have at any other porte and that there ladinges is much in the night tydes when the officers ar not able to take viewe of their ladinge and when theie have laden it is to great a trouble and chardge for the officers to goe with a boate and fower men to roe them uppon everie such occasion into the wilde rode, which is sixe miles from the Key, and theare to unrommydge their shipp which ar almost laden and specially when theie ar neere reddey to make saile, till that tyme they will defer their takinge in of victuell and prohibited merchandice. The due execucion of the band will prevent all their former abuses.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 55/25.⁸

⁷ *The farmer of the customs was Sir Francis Walsingham.*

⁸ *B.M. Lansdowne MS. 110/27 is almost identical.*

32. A PETITION FROM THE WAITERS IN THE PORT OF BRISTOL.

To the Right Honorable the Lord Burghley, Lord Highe Treasaurer of England,

In all humblenes sheweth and complayneth unto your honour your poore Suppliants, the sworne and appointed waiters of the Queenes Majesties custom house at and for the port of the city of Bristoll, that whereas all bills of discharge of goods inward are kept from them by the corrupt and covetous meanes of certaine Deputies which have fermed the imposition of wyne. By restraint of which bills according to th' accustomed manner of service heretofore had, your Lordships said Suppliants cannot serve her Highnes and performe their duties as by their othes they are charged, because yf any merchaundize be landed and the custome not paid or otherwise agreed for by composicion with the officers, they and such offenders through want that your Suppliants have not the said bills of discharge, yf your Suppliants make stay, affirme the custome is paid or agreed for, so that they with the Customer (who is also one of the fermors) may secretly and unlawfully compounde for forfeitures of wyne or any other goodes, or els conceale the same wholly, whereby your poore Suppliants doe loose the mony due to them for the bills execucion, being both the greatest part of their charge and also their cheifest living. And the marchantes regard not your suppliants office, which may be to the great prejudice of her Majesties benefitt, to the incoragement of such offenders and th' increase of concealement of her Highnes subside daily practized. It would therefore please your good Lordship to take some order for present redress of the said abuses and to give commaundement that your said Suppliants (the waiters) may have the said bills of discharge delivered unto them, and the fees thereunto belonging to be paid in that behalf as it hath byn alwaies formerly used. And your said Suppliants shall both duetifully performe their bounden service, and daily pray for the happy preservacion of your honorable estate.

Endorsed: The humble petition of the sworne waiters etc.⁹

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 110/26.

33. SOME ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CUSTOMS OFFICIALS.

1542 *George Whelplay reported to the Exchequer Court that Nicholas Wykes, controller at Bristol, had been absent many days between 1st July and 1st October, 1541, and that ships entered and left without record. Tristram Lewkenor and William Hill were dealing in butter, cheese and cloth.*

E 159/320 Hil. 41r & v, 48r, 53r.

1544 *George Whelplay reported that Richard Watkyns held a town office in addition to his post as controller of the customs.*

E 159/322 Hil. 26r.

⁹ A note from the officials, Cave and Blande, admits the justice of the Waiters' complaint.

1595 *William Dewsbury reported that John Andrews, William Colston and John Dowle, all Bristol customs men, were also trading as merchants.*

E 159/411 Mich. 359r & v, 360r.

1601 *Reginald Evans of London reported that Richard Tagge or Tegge, merchant of Bristol, had exported butter on three occasions, that William Lewis searcher knew of it and had permitted it to go uncustomed.*

E159/421 Mich. 44r.

34. HOPKINS v. TAYLOR, MORE IRREGULARITIES IN THE CUSTOMS, 1594.

A breviate of the depositions taken concerninge the Complainge exhibited by Master John Hopkins againste Thomas Taylor unto the Right Honorable the Lord Highe Treasurer.

John Williams deposeth that Thomas Taylor woulde not be satisfied with poundage for her Majesties custome due for certeine indico taken out of a carricke fyered and sunke nere the Ilandes and broughte from thence to Bristoll in Master Hopkyns shippe, but would have fyve poundes weight of every hundred weight of the same indico for custome; whereuppon the same indico was delivered to the sayde Thomas Taylor and William Benger, then the customers clerk, or to one of them, as the sayde Taylor, Benger and Hopkyns have reported; with which harde dealinges the master and company that tooke the same indico fynde themselves greeved . . .

William Benger, late Clerke to the Customer, deposeth that Thomas Taylor and the customers deputie did after the entrie made of the sayde indico offer unto the sayd John Hopkyns that he should value the indico to be worthe ij^s vj^d the pound, and so to paye the Queenes custome after that rate, which he refused to doe; whereuppon the customers deputie with the consente of Thomas Taylor did take the xxth parte of the indico, which was afterwarde sold by William Hulbert, customer, (as the sayd William Benger thinketh) but for what price he knoweth not, nor what was aunswered to her Majestie; neyther knoweth he of any profite had or made by the sayde Thomas Taylor for or in consideracion of the saide indico; and deposeth further that Master Hopkyns sayde at the tyme of the entrie made, that he thought he was to paye no custome for the saide indico.

William Cole and Thomas Parker depose that Thomas Taylor and John Dowle the customer did demaunde iij^s iiij^d for the custome of everie hundred weighte of Sainte Thomea sugers taken at sea by Master Hopkyns shipp, but Master Hopkyns would paye but xx^d for everie hundred for that the sugers were but panellios; whereunto Thomas Taylor would not consente but required a bande of Master Hopkyns to paye the custome demaunded by him as aforesayde, unles he could bringe a discharge from the Lord Treasurer for so much as

was above xx^d every hundred weighte. Whereuppon the masters that tooke the same sugers, being then present did muche mislike and swore great oathes that they would never bringe any prize to Bristoll but carry the same els where . . .

George White deposeth that Captayne George Wattes reported that he caryed away certeine sugers from Bristoll to Bridgewater, because that he and his companye were verye hardlie dealte withall in Bristoll by Thomas Taylor and other officers there and sayde that yf he were called before my Lord Treasurer he would tell a tale against the sayde Taylor.

John Taylor deposeth that Captayne Wattes and Captaine Harper reported in Bridgewater that they brought the sayde sugers from Bristoll to Bridgewater for that they doubted that Thomas Taylor did joyne with certeine Fleminges which come home with them from the Canaries and so would have taken the sayde sugers from them, whereby the sayde Captains for preventing thereof, were dryven to goe with their shippe out of the porte of Bristoll to the Welshe rode and so from thence to Bridgwate to sell the same there . . .

John Awsten deposeth that about fower yeares paste he bargayned with one Captaine Starkey for certeine Indies pepper at Pennarte in Wales and acquainted Thomas Taylor with yt to whome the saide Awsten offered to give v^{li} to grant his good will to lande yt, standinge in some feare that it was not lawfully come by, but Taylor refused the money and would joyne with Awsten in the bargain . . .

. . . and deteyneth the profite thereof from the sayde Awsten with some parte of the principall money and two and twentie poundes worth of cotten wooll . . .

. . . for all which the sayd Awsten hath sued the sayde Taylor in the Mayor and Sheryves courtes in Bristoll . . .

John Hedde deposeth that one Daniell Messenger did reporte in the house of John Clarke, vintner, that Thomas Taylor did deale doubly in a cause betweene one Master Birde of London and certeine Flemings, touchinge a greate hulke which the *Mynion* brought home as a prize, and that he tooke a fee on bothe sides and that Daniell sayde that he woulde avouche yt to Taylors face.

James Peryman, master of a ship of John Hopkyns deposeth that the sayd Daniell reported in the presence of John Hedde and one Mathewe Byrde that Thomas Taylor dyd playe Ambodexter and Jacke on bothe sides in the saide cause . . .

Several depositions report that Taylor had been imprisoned for debt some years previously, while others concern accusations of illegal dealings in casks of raisins, sugar, wines and other prize goods brought to the Back Hall in Bristol. Taylor was also accused of supporting the claims of various Flemmings in disputes over the ownership of various prizes brought into the port.

William Cole, marchant, deposeth that about one yeare past yt was reported unto him by one Gasper Domingo, master of a prize taken at

sea by the saide Cole and the pilate of the same prize cominge from St. Thomea, that there was greate store of goulde in a flyeboate which was brought to Bristoll from the Castle de Myna by certeine Fleminges, and that parte of the goulde and the flyeboate did apperteyne to John Baptista Revelaseo of Luxborne. And saythe further that he thinketh that Thomas Taylor hath unlawfullie busied himself in the suite betweene Master Birde and Middleton and Master Hopkyns, William Cole and others of the companye of a prize called the *Globe*, Taylor havinge no authority to medle therein to the knowledge of the sayde William Cole; and that he hath heard divers maryners and seafaring men fynde themselves greeved by the sayde Taylor for his hard dealinge offered them, and thinketh that his brother Hopkyns hath not preferred his petition of mallice to my Lord Treasurer, but for Taylors reformacion.

George Woodlocke deposeth that John Skiddy and John Gromell of Ireland told him at St. Jamestye last that, about that tyme two yeare, this deponent having a barke at Bristoll bound for Ireland wherein Skyddy was purser, certeine officers of Bristoll came aboorde to serche; but the marchants of the barke (loth to have their goods romaged, being bounde awaye and the wynde faire) collected amongst themselves, of some xij^d, of other some ij^s and of some v^s and gave the whole some (how muche he knoweth not) unto the officers, whom also he knoweth not neyther to which of them the sayde some was geeven.

Other depositions concerned the ownership of a prize called the Sun.

Thomas Parry deposeth that he broughte and caused to be broughte from Barry in Wales, anno 1590, xx^{tie} tonnes of St. Thomea sugers unto Bristoll by porte cockett but the sugers were stayed by Taylors meanes under color that they belonged to certeine Fleminges, whereby this deponent was dispossessed thereof, the sugers beinge putt into the Back Hall of Bristoll (the keeper whereof then was Thomas Taylors father in lawe) but this deponentes and other mens lockes were broken up and the sugers taken awaye under cooler of freight; this deponent susteyninge great losse thereby, neyther could he have any remedie against Taylor, beinge a decayed man and indepted to many. And further, in anno 1592, this deponent and Captaine Gyles bought a newe serviceable flyboate of certeine Fleminges who had taken her from the Spanishe Lantatho, her Majesties capitall enemye, to which Lantatho the same flybote was before sould by certeine Fleminges for 3000 and od ducketts, whereof prooffe hath beene made, but Taylor caused the sayde shippe to be arrested in the name of Lawrence Backes and others of Middleboroughe, by meanes whereof they were constrained (to avoyde suites in lawe) to yeele up their righte in the sayde flybote for 300^{li} to the sayde Fleminges of Middleborough, to their great hinderance. And saythe further, that to speake of Taylor as he knoweth, fyndeth and heareth, he is a dangerous, busie, shiftinge, scoffinge felowe, and one that served neere an apprentishippe in the

gaiole and one that is a comon dealer in brabblinge causes especiallie with straingers againste his neighbours, by which meanes he hath discouraged this deponent and divers others to deale in maryen causes, and was told to his face by a gentleman of good worship that his busines with straingers againste his neighbours and native contrymen would cost him knockes yf he came out of Bristoll . . .

John Davis sworne and examined uppon Thomas Taylors interrogatory deposeth that he knewe the shippe called the *Sunne* and that first at the appointment of Thomas Holcombe of Bristoll and afterwarde at the appointment of Abraham van Harricke of London, marchante, he caused the sayde shippe to be arrested at the suite of the sayde Abraham and one Lawrance Baye of Middleboroughe and that he, by the appointment of the sayde van Harricke did prosecute a suite againste the sayde shippe as maye appeare by the recordes of the Admirall Courte of Bristoll. And that he verelie beleeveth that the sayde shippe was arrested (as aforesayde) longe before that Thomas Parry and Capteine Giles did buy her, for that he knoweth that one Mathias de Grotta, a marchaunte strainger, did followe the same suite in the behalfe of the Easterlinges which brought the shippe home, and hath heard one George Knite saye that he receaved fees for that suite of Mathias de Grotta.¹⁰

From B.M. Lansdowne MS 76/52.

35. A RARE PRIZE, 1590.¹¹

To the Queenes most excellent Majestie. In most humble mannor complayninge sheweth unto your Highenes yor faythefull and obedyent subjectes, Raulfe Pyers, John Cother, Thomas Lyllyewhyte, Peter Browne, Alice Leonard the wyffe of Jeames Leonarde, and Richarde Hewes, that whereas John Hyggyns of Bristowe clothworker, Thomas Holcombe merchant, Richarde Barker merchant and Edward Hollyster merchant, beinge capteynes and owners of a shipp called the *Hopewell* in Brystowe, dyd abowte fower yeares sythens reteyne the saide Raulfe Pyers, John Cother, Thomas Lyllyewhyte, Peter Browne, Jeames Leonarde and Richarde Hewes to serve in that shipp at the seas, whoe dyd abowte Mychaellmas in the twoe and thyrtye yeare of your Majesties moste happie raigne put forthe the saide shipp to the sea and placed your saide subjectes in severall offyces videlicet, the saide Raulffe Pyers as quarter master, John Cother as pursur, and stewardest mate Thomas Lyllywhyte, Richard Hewes cookes mate. And your saide subjectes beinge at seas they toke a Spanyshe shipp which was loaden with ollyvantes teethe, graynes, cyvett and fower chests of goulde beinge of the value of thyrtye thousande powndes. Which shipp, goodes, goulde and merchandyse were lawefull pryces and to be devided accordinge to the

¹⁰ See also B.A.O. 00009, H.C.A. 24/59/29, E 159/423 Mich. 18r and v.

¹¹ An analysis of the prizes brought in by Bristol ships as recorded in B. M. Harleian MS. 598 shows that their average value 1587-98 was about £800.

usuall cowrse that allwayes heretofore have beene had and taken in and uppon all lawefull pryyses taken at the sea. But suche have beene the unconscyonable disposycion of the said John Higgyns, Thomas Hollcombe, Richarde Barker and Edward Hollyster, that they have gotten all the saide goodes, goulde and merchandyse into there handes and refewse and denye to make anye recompence, satysffaccion or allowance unto your saide subjectes contrarye to all equitye and good consyence. In consyderacion whereof, maye yt please your moste excellent Majestie, the premisses consydered, to graunte unto your saide subjectes your Highenes moste gratyous wrytt of pryvy seale dyrected unto the saide John Hyggyns, Thomas Hollcombe, Richarde Barker and Edward Hollyster comaundinge them and everye of them personallie to be and appeare before your Highenes in your Cowrte of Requestes at a certeine daye and under a certeyne paine to be lymytted and then and theare to make answeere unto the premisses . . .¹²

From Req 2/30/64.

36. THE BOOK OF COMPLAINT OF THOMAS WATKINS AGAINST JOHN DOWLE, 1600.

An accounte of parte of such customes and substedies as John Dowle, customer inward in the porte of Bristoll, and the marchantes have consented to deceyve her Majestie and devided it, the one halfe to the saide customer and waitors of the saide porte and the other halfe to the marchantes that was owners of the same.

fo. 1. in anno Domini 1594

In the *Joseph* of Bristoll as much goodes not entred as the custome and subsidee thereof came to xv^{li} which was the third parte of the ladinge of the same shipp¹³

xv^{li}

xvj die Marcij, 1595

In the *Unicorn* of Bristoll as much goodes not entred as the custome and subserie thereof came to vj^{li} xiiij^s vij^d, whereof the marchaunte allwaies hath th' one halfe and the officers the other devided amongst them . . .

vj^{li} xiiij^s vij^d

fo. 4. secundo die July, 1597

In the *Peacocke* of Amserdam John Whitsone entred v puncheons of prunes containing xx C waighte but it was currantes amountinge to some lxxx C waighte which the custome and ymposicion thereof came to – xxvj^{li}

xxvj^{li}

¹² *In the Exchequer Court the owners and merchants were accused of unloading the Hopewell secretly, at night and paying no customs or other dues, E 159/400 Hil 26r & v, 180r & v.*

¹³ *Watkins signs each item, adding the names of witnesses and other comments.*

fo. 5. xix die May, 1597

In the *Fortune* of Brest John Olyver and Hughe Griffith entred xij tonnes of salte, which was xij tons of sumacke or better comoditie but noe salte by the consent of the customer, soe the Queen had xij^s God knoweth for howe much, as apeareth by the copy of the bill of entry hereunder written it could not be lesse then xx nobles or x^{li} . . .

fo. 6. xiiij die May, 1597

In the *Joseph* of Bristoll William Ellis, Hugh Griffith, John Whitsone, John Barker and company, marchauntes, for xv tons of allome in Roome¹⁴ which was not entred subsidy is more twoe barrelles of nutmegges not entred which I have the marchauntes bill under their owne handes to showe as by the copy of the same bill hereunder written apereth . . .

xxv^{li}

*Watkins also accuses Dowle of trading on his own account, exacting extortionate fees, allowing the export of prohibited goods, recording ships trading with Spain as arriving from French ports and not reporting goods seized as smuggled to the Exchequer Court. In levying prisage, they make the bill as the marchauntes and they canne agree and will mend and alter entries at their pleasure and sometymes in such strangers names as have noe goodes in the shipp.*¹⁵

From S.P. 12/274/57.

¹⁴ Probably alum from Rome.

¹⁵ See also another book of complaint written by Watkins against Dowle in 1598, S.P. 12/267/39.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NORTHERN TRADES

37. THE CHARTER PARTY FOR A TRAMP VOYAGE, 1531.

This charter-party endented of a fraightment made the xijth day of June, the xxij yere of the raigne of King Henry the viij betwene Arthur Plantagenet, Vicounte Lisle of the Order of the Garter of Englund, Wales, Ireland, Gaskoyne, Gyenne, Normandy, Viceadmirall,¹ owner of a shyppe called the *Mary Plantagenet*, now being in the water of Topsham, wherof under God, John at Borowe is maister, of the one partye and John Seller capemarchant, Nicholas Lymet, John Androw and John a Leghe merchauntes of the other partye. Witnesseth that the sayd Lord Lisle by the sayd John at Borowe, his lawfull attorney and deputye in this behalf, hath grantyd and lettyn to frayght the sayd shyppe unto the sayd cape-marchaunt and marchauntes, which shippe shalbe, by the grace of God, redye the xiiij day of June next and immediatlye ensuyng the date of thes presentes with xxiiij men, ij pages and with his bote or cocke to receyve and take in to her all tymes lawfull sutche goodis and marchandyses as shall pleas the said capemarchant and marchauntes or their factors or attorneys to frayght and lade in her to her full burdon of a Cxj tons. That is to witte, the sayd John Seller, capemarchaunt xx^{ti} tons, Nicholas Lymett xxx^{ti} tons, John Androw x tons, John a Leghe xx^{ti} tons, and the reste that the good shippe will beyre to be frayghted and laden by John at Borow, maister of the sayd shyppe and his fellows. And from the water of Topsham the sayd good shippe in Goddes grace, with the next good wind and wether that Godd will send shall sayle unto Vochill² and ther to discharge and recharge within xij days, every day accomptyd, and from thens with the grace of God to retorne to the crick of Barnstapole, ther to take in vitayle, ordynaunces, with other necessareyes to the sayd shippe and marchauntes as by the sayd master, capemarchaunt and marchauntes shalbe thoght expedyent and necessary. And ther to tary abowt the vitayling and orderyng of the sayd shippe by the space of iiij dayes, every day accomptyd. And soo thens by Goddes grace shall with the next good wind and wether that God shall send sayle to the Ile of Man or to any other placys of Ireland

¹ *D.N.B.*

² *Youghal.*

where fishing is occupied as the sayd maister, capemarchaunt and marchauntes shall thinck by their comen assentes to their mooste profytt and advantage and ther to remayne and tary xl dayes, every day accomptyd and then and ther and in every place afore rehercyd, with Goddes grace to receyve and take in all sutch stuff and marchandises of what name, place, qualite or condition so ever thei be of, that by the sayd capemarchaunt and marchauntes with the sayd maister and his fellows shal be broght in to the sayd good shippe his full and burden. And from thens, by Goddes grace, with the next good wynd and wether that God shall send, to sayle to Burdeaux and there to discharge and recharge and within the space of xx days, every day accomptyd, and from thens, by Goddes grace to retorne to the port or water of Bristow, ther to be discharged and the sayde capemarchaunt and marchauntes, maister and his fellows shall pay to the sayd owner, his deputye, attorney or assignes for every ton frayght xxx^s, half therof to be payd at the clere discharging of the sayde schyppe and the other half to be payd within ij monethes then next ensuing and the sayd goodes to be delyvered at the sayd port of Brystow and the sayd capemarchaunt and marchauntes shall pay stowage and lowage, lodemanage, craneage, talawyng of the sayd shippe and all other charges which hath ben usid and acustymed for marchauntes to pay . . .³ Of all good and rightfull adventures which shall happen this present vyage the owner to have the thyrd parte, the sayd marchauntes the iij parte and the sayd maister and his fellowshippe the third parte . . .⁴

From S.P. 3/9/66.

38. OIL SEIZED IN IRELAND.

To the Right Honnorable Sir Thomas Audeley, Knyght, Lord Audeley of Walden and Lord Chauncellour of Englonde.

In most humble wise complaynyng shewith unto your good and honnorable Lordship your pore daily oratour Bennett Jay of the towne of Brystowe, marchaunt, that where your said oratour was lafully possessed of twoo tonnes of oyle of the value of twentie and foure poundes sterlinges, as of his owne propre gooddes, amongst other oyles of other marchauntes. And he so being therof possessed, as well he as the said other marchauntes owners of the same oyles, aboute tenne yeres last past betoke and delivered all the same oyles upon veray confidenc and trust unto one Turlowe Maxswyne and Doune of Ballogh in the river of Shiphaven in Irlonde, safelie to kepe to their uses to be redelivered unto theym whensoever they or their assignes shulde require the same. And the same oyles so being in the custodie and possession of the said Turlowe and Doune, certen persons, wylde Yrisshe men whose names as yet ar unknowen to your said oratour

³ *The MS. is badly worn.*

⁴ *John Aborough signs as the attorney and depputty for my Lord Lysle yn thys behalffe.*

afterward robbed and toke all the same oyles, as well of your said oratour as of the said other marchauntes from and, oute of the possession of the said Turlowe and Doune and the same solde to their most advantage to one William Larde of Bristowe aforesaid, marchaunt, for and to the use of the same Larde and of his coperteners, marchauntes of Bristowe. And your said oratour, having knowlege therof, with the consent of the other marchauntes, caused the said twoo tonne of oyle to be attached to th' use of your oratour by way of replevyn according to the custom of the said town of Bristowe. Wherapon for the appeasing and pacifyng therof as well the coperteners of the said William Larde as your said oratour for hym self and other marchauntes, by the mediacion of their frendes submytted, compromytted and bounde theym selffes either to other by their severall obligacions in a certen some of money to stonde to and abide the awarde, arbitrement and judgement of one Edward Prynn and John Snygge of Bristowe aforesaide, marchauntes, of, in and upon the premysses. Whiche arbitratours, by vertue therof, awarded and adjudged as well the said twoo tonne of oyle to the said other marchauntes, every man to receive his owne by his marke, as they so did accordinglie. Syns whiche tyme, upon fraude and covyn had and ymagyned betwene the said William Larde and his coperteners and one John Thomas of the said towne of Bristowe, cowper, to th' entente onely to putte your said oratour wrongfullie to vexacion, coste and trouble and for none other purpose, the said John Thomas, the cowper, hath nowe of late pursued an accion of debt of xxv^s ayenst your said oratour for the hopying of all the seid oyles, as well of your said oratour as of the said other marchauntes, before the Shireffes of the said towne of Brystowe . . .⁵

From C 1/1014/68.

39. IMPORTS FROM IRELAND.

1519 William Appowell, deputy of John Westowe, searcher in the port of Bristol, seized 8 mantles, the goods of Edward Sutton, merchant of Ireland, landed uncustomed.

E 159/298 Hil. 17v.

1532 John Raven, deputy of John Westowe, seized 4 Irish mantles, colour horseflesh, the goods of an unknown Irish merchant, landed at Bristol uncustomed.

E 159/311 Mich. 10r.

1535 Henry Jones seized packs containing 103 verges of cheker frieze and 1½ stones of black Irish wool, the goods of Edmund Quirke, alien merchant, and 9 more packs containing 108 verges of cheker frieze, the goods of James Porter, landed at Bristol uncustomed.

E 159/314 Mich. 5r.

⁵ See also C 4/74, 125.

1541 Edward Stanbank reported that Tristram Lewkenor had seized at Bristol 4 barrels of salmon, the goods of William Appowell of Bristol, merchant, landed uncustomed.

E 159/320 Mich. 10r.

1541 Edward Stanbank seized at Bristol 10 falcons valued at 53s. 4d. each and 7 tercel gentles at 40s. each, the goods of William Appowell of Bristol, landed uncustomed. Appowell maintained that he had paid duty on the falcons he brought from Ireland, some of which were for the King's use.

E 159/320 Mich. 11r and v.

1543 Antony Stanbank, waiter in the port of Bristol, seized 2 pipes of salmon, the goods of Thomas White of Bristol, merchant, and 4 barrels of white herring, the goods of Dennis McCreoth, an Irish merchant, all landed uncustomed.

E 159/323 Easter 33r.

1544 Edward Stanbank seized 1½ stones hake and 30 verges Irish frieze, goods of an unknown merchant, landed uncustomed.

E 159/323 Easter 33v.

1569 John Warren, waiter in the port of Bristol, at the Quay, seized 2 packs containing 30 stones of Irish wool, the goods of an unknown merchant, landed uncustomed.

E 159/358 Easter 16r.

1594 Barrett Heywood of London reported that Arthur Panter had seized 28 coverlets, 100 yards of rugg and 50 yards of cheker, from a merchant and ship unknown.

E 159/406 Hil. 2r.

40. EXPORTS TO IRELAND.

1515 John Rede, searcher in the port of Bristol, seized 2 lb. raw silk belonging to Richard Archer of Kilkenny in Ireland and 60 lb. wax of John Portingale of Youghal, alien, laden for export uncustomed.

E 159/294 Mich. 5v.

1518 John Bartholomew reported that Thomas Downes, one of the waiters in the port of Bristol, in a picard of Waterford called the Patrick, seized 7 weys of wheat, the goods of John Fitzharris and William White of Waterford. They had tried to prevent him from boarding the ship at Kingroad and were imprisoned at Newgate until four Bristol men stood bail in £40, but they then left and two of their sureties were in the Fleet until they could find the money.

E 159/297 Trin. 19v. E 159/298 Mich. 26r, 27v.

1529 *Thomas Sall at Hungroad in a ship called the Christopher of Kinsale, William Roche master, seized 15 lb. English saffron, 5½ lb. silk, 1 doz skins dyed red and 16 barrels single beer, the goods of William Roche, William Hay and other Irish merchants, shipped for export uncustomed. He also seized from William Roche an angel of gold, value 7s. 6d. and £27 11s. 10d. in silver belonging to him and other merchants.*

E 159/308 Easter 10r, 11v.

1540 *Edward Stanbank reported that Tristram Lewkenor had seized 24 poldavyes, goods of John Carmel, Irish merchant, laden for export uncustomed.*

E 159/319 Mich. 10r.

1546 *Antony Stanbank seized 2 lb. raw silk, 2 lb. saffron, 12 verges kersey, the goods of John White, Irish merchant, shipped for export uncustomed.*

E 159/325 Mich. 17v.

1564 *John Holmes, servant of George Jones, Controller in the port of Bristol, seized in the Anne of Waterford, Thomas Kerren master, 4 hogsheads and 1 barrel of wheat laden for export uncustomed and without a licence.*

E 159/347 Easter 9r.

1574 *William Goslate in the John of Laugherne, John Butler master, seized 2 gross knives, 3 barrels of malt, 3 lb. nails, ½ gross girdles, 2 bolts silk, 6 bolts black thread, 2 doz. sword hilts, 3 clout nails, a box of combs, 3 pairs hose, 2 hats, 6 gross buttons, 13 lb. cumin seed, a brass pot, a payer of sleeves for women, 2 gross penknives, 200 cheeses, 152 lb. pepper, 2 doz knives, goods of merchants unknown, laden for export uncustomed.*

E 159/369 Mich. 14r.

41. IRISH CARGOES, 1503-4.

6 October, *Francis of Bristol, from Ireland*

Edward Griffethe, master.

The master 2 pipes salmon, 6 bar. white herring, 12 mantles, ½ C sheepskins.

William White, Humphrey Brown, William Tirrie, Humphrey Bosgrove, 15½ pipes salmon.

William White 22½ bar. white herring, 22 mantles, 2 C sheep skins, 2 C¾ hake.

William Tirrie, Humphrey Browne

5 lasts 3 bar. white herring, 1 C hake, 5 mantles.

Humphrey Bosgrove 40 bar white herring, 2 C 1 qr. hake, 22 mantles, 13 st. flocks.

William Clarke	6 bar. white herring, 95 rays, 1 C 1 qr. sheep skins.
Thomas Flemynge	3½ bar. white herring.
William Beremake	5 mantles, 8 verges cheker, 3 st. flocks.
William Tobyn	1 bar. white herring.
John Wase	21 bar. white herring.
William White	80 lb. brasil.
John Stake	5 mantles.
John Danne	6 st. flocks.
William White	1 goshawk.
John Wase	6 mantles.

9 February, *Trinity* of Cork, to Ireland

Peter Butler, master.

John Rowland	1 ton 1 pipe iron, 6 bar. honey, 1 ton corrupt wine.
William Clarke	1 pipe wine, 1 pipe corrupt wine.
John Rowland	1 pipe iron.
William Scochen	2½ doz. skins, 6 lb. saffron, 2 lb. silk, ½ gross knives, ½ C combs, 1 lb. cinnamon, 1 lb. pepper, 24 lb. dyed yarn, 3 st. orchil, 1 lb. saffron, 1 lb. thread.
David White	½ wey malt.
William Clarke	2 cloths without grain, 16 st. orchil.
William Scochen	2 gross points.

From E 122/199/1.

42. EXPORTS TO IRELAND, 1576.

William Goslate, searcher in the port of Bristol, reported to the Exchequer Court that on 4 August, 1576, he had seized from the ship Elizabeth of Waterford, William Stoner master,

viiij groz of knyves, three peecees of callycowe, one dossen belches, viij bowltes of silke, two dossen of inke hornes, three yardes of broade clothe, halfe a dossen of buskyns, three remnauntes of leven taffatie, vj peecees stock cardes, two groz of girdelles, half a burthen of steele, one groz of skewers, one hundred of nayles, iiij clokets of nedles, one groz of brasse buttons, half a dossen of hattes, fortie pounde of pewter, half a grosse of playeng cardes, half a hundred of chese, and a dossen payer of shewes,

goods of an unknown merchant laden for export uncustomed.

E 159/373 Mich. 19r.

43. THE EXPORT OF MONEY TO IRELAND, 1575.

The Sercher of Bristoll seized the xxviij day of May, 1575, in Hungroade, so muche redy money as amountethe to the some of iiij^{xxvliij}^s^{x^d}, whereof fortie poundes was nayled betwixte two planks, the reste in other places of a ship wherof Phillipe Roche is master, laden for the partes beyonde the sea.

If any merchaunt alledge that it shoulde but have bene conveied into Ireland within the Queens domynions, it is inhibited by a statute in the xixth yere regni regis Henrici septimi cap. v^{to} that no persone shall cary any money into Ireland be expresse wordes upon payne of forfeiture and his body to be imprisoned.

If it be lawfull to transport money into Ireland then the merchaunt neded not to convey it betwixt planks.⁶

S.P. 46/15/235.

44. A SAFE CONDUCT FOR A SCOTTISH SHIP, 1498.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce and Lord of Irland, to the most reverend fadre in God, John, Cardynall Archebisshop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and of th'appostoliq See Legat, oure Chauncellor, greting. We late you wite that of oure grace especial and for certain consideracions us mooving we have yeven and graunted oure saufconduit for a ship called the *Mary* of Dunberton in Scotland, of the portage of fyfty tonnes belonging unto oure right well beloved Mathew Stoward, Erle of Lyneux⁷ in Scotland forsaid, to come by way and feat of merchaundises into oure poortes of Bristoll, Westchestre or in any other poorte or creke of this oure royaume for th'utteraunce of all suche goodes and merchaundises as shalbe laden within her, with the maister, merchauntes and maryners of the same ship to the nombre of fourty persons or under. And therupon to recharge her within oure said realme with almaner goodes and merchaundises lieffull and to oure staple of Calais not apperteignyng. And with the same peassibly to passe into Scotland aforesaid . . . Yeven undre oure privie seal at oure palais of Westminster, the iiijth day of Novembre, the xiiij yere of oure reigne.

From C 82/184, 4 Nov. 1498.

45. THE LOSS OF THE SHIP *JESUS*, 1553.

Richard Baynham, Thomas Smythe and John Becke, merchants of Bristol and Robert Clough, mariner, complained in the High Court of Admiralty that their ship, Jesus, sailing from the Isle of Man to Lough Foyle in Ireland, was taken by a Breton ship, its cargo stolen and the ship taken to a Scottish port.

⁶ For other examples see *E 159/314 Mich. 10, 319 Trin. 1v, 320 Trin. 9.*

⁷ Mathew Stewart, 2nd Earl of Lennox (d. 1513) was also Sheriff of Dumbarton. *D.N.B.*

Sedula bonorum spoliatorum

In primis, x toonnes of gascon wyne worthe	lxvj ^{li}	xiijs	iiij ^d
Item, viij toonnes of salte	xvj ^{li}		
Item, l peecys of carsey	li		
Item, iiij peeces of grey clothe	v ^{li}		
Item, lx pounce of rawe silke	xxxiiij ^{li}		
Item, xxx pounce of safferon	x ^{li}		
Item, xx toon of beare	viiij ^{li}		
Item, x C of biskett	v ^{li}		
Item, ij hoggesheaddes of beeфф	iiij ^{li}		
Item, iiij hoggesheaddes of wheate flour		ls	
Item, in olde money	xx ^{li}		
Item, in grocery waares to the value of	xiiiij ^{li}		
Item, the shipp callyd the <i>Jesus</i> withe hir tackle, apparell and ordinaunce	lx ^{li}		
Item, iiij ^{xx} hoggesheaddes of salmon	ix ^{xxli}		

From H.C.A. 24/25/6, 25a.⁸

46. THE LOSS OF THE *MARY GRIFFITH*, 1570.

A note of all such ware and money as were taken out of the *Mary Griffethe* of Bristowe of the merchauntes goodes, the moneth of January in Scotland by ij shippes of St. Mallowes, the one named *La Siver*, the capitaigne of her John Advocat, and the other ship callid the *Pushe*, whereof was capitaigne Peter Leveille, freightid by Thomas Flemminge, Scottishman, for the Castle of Dunbyten.

Item, the money of xxxij hogshedes salt solde at xl ^s skotische per hogg	lxiiiij ^{li}		
More, the money of xx yeardes puke and violet solde at iiij ^{li} S. per yearde	lx ^{li}		
More, ij tonne wyne solde at iiij ^{li} S. per tonne	viiij ^{li}		
More, the money of xvij feltes and six cappes solde at	xij ^{li}		
More, the money of xlij yeardes sage collar clothe which was solde at xxx ^s S. per yearde	lxiiij ^{li}		
More, the money of one garnishe off pewter, solde at	xvj ^{li}		
More, in sterlinge money xv ^{li} xij ^s which amountethe S.	lxxviiij ^{li}		
More, the money of wyne solde by retayle as aperethe, amountethe, S.	xxviij ^{li}	xiijs	
More, the money of xl dozen trenchers solde at	ij ^{li}	vij ^s	
The some of the money amountethe S.	CCCC iiij ^{li}		
Which some above writen amountethe sterlinge	lx ^{li}	xij ^s	

A note of the wares which were taken out of the *Mary Griffethe* that were unsolde taken by the handes of those parties before writen as followethe:

⁸ See also H.C.A. 24/26/73, 24/27/101, 103.

In primis, a pece brode clothe red, conteynninge xxxij yeardes at xl ^s skotishe per yearde amountethe				
More, iiij northeron dozens conteynninge the whole liiij yeardes with a remnent at xl ^s S. per yearde	lxiiiij ^{li}			
More, iiij yeardes violet and puke	C viiij ^{li}			
More, iij blewe watchets of xlv yeardes at iij ^{li} per yearde	xij ^{li}			
More, ij pounce safferon, amountethe S.	xxxiiij ^{li}	xv ^s		
More, xij pounce Yrelande silke amountethe	xvj ^{li}			
More, vj dozen kony skins amountethe	xxij ^{li}			
More, in liceris amd knives, amountethe S.	viiij ^{li}			
More, xviiij girdles	xxvj ^{li}			
More, in other small wares	v ^{li}			
More, vj hogshead red wyne	xxvj ^{li}			
More, in powder and shot of the ships store	liiiij ^{li}			
More, x yeardes di. of fyne red clothe at	xxxvj ^{li}	v ^s		
More, iij dozen peest arrowes	xxvj ^{li}			
More, xj belchis and xij handlins amountethe S.	v ^{li}			
More, half a beif which cost x ^s sterlinge	xij ^{li}	x ^s		
More, in bred and bere that they spoyled of oures	ij ^{li}	x ^s		
More spent by Leonarde Sumpter in sute in going to Sterlinge, Edenboughe and Dunbyten, till he came to the ship againe, amountethe S.	xxviiij ^{li}	x ^s		
More, they toke from us in aquavitie the whole summe S.	xlvi ^{li}			
the summe abovesaid sterlinge	xxviiij ^s			
Item, more all our clothes, chestes with certaine mony which the marriners had and other piledge taken by the parties aforesaid to the value of xli ^{li} and more money.	v ^c xxviiij ^{li}	xviiij ^s		
A note of the munitians and ordinaunce which was taken by the men aforesaid as followethe:	C v ^{li}	xvj ^s	ix ^d	
In primis, xij peces ordenaunce with their chambers and forlockes, cost sterlinge				
More, ij boltes of poledavis cost sterlinge	xxxviij ^{li}	x ^s		
More, viij bowes, cost sterlinge	iiiij ^{li}	x ^s		
More, vj sheve of arrowes, cost		xx ^s		
More, vj bowesperes, vj pikes and ij dozen dartes, cost		xxiiiij ^s		
More, ij ^c pounce of shete led		xx ^s		
More, vj pounce merline, v pounce twyne and viij pounce ratlynnes		vij ^s		
More, a fryenge panne, a sledge and ij hammers		xiiiij ^s		
More, cannes, platters, saylemeddles, amountethe sterlinge		v ^s		
The somme above writen amounteth sterlinge money		iiiij ^s		
	xlviij ^{li}	xiiiij ^s		

Item, the money that was taken as do appeare in the first side, amountethe sterlinge	lx ^{li}	xij ^s	
More, in wares, as do appeare per contra, amountethe sterlinge	C v ^{li}	xvj ^s	ix ^d
More in piledge, as do appeare, amountethe	xli ^{li}		
More in ordinaunce and other municion, as do appeare above writen, amountethe	xlvj ^{li}	xiii ^s	
The some do amount sterlinge	CC liij ^{li}	ij ^s	ix ^d

From H.C.A. 24/43/184-6.⁹

47. A HANSEATIC MERCHANT IN BRISTOL, 1556.

*John Parnell of Bristol, mercer, and William Tucker, draper, on 11 December, 1556, bound themselves in the sum of £34 to repay a debt to Michael Tymberman, called here a merchant of London. He was a Hanseatic merchant dealing in rye in Bristol at that time.*¹⁰

The condition of this present obligacion is suche that yf th'above bounde John Parnell and William Tucker or eyther of them or th'executours, administrators or assignes of eyther of them do well and truelie, without any manner of fraude or guile, paie or cause to be paid to the above named Mychaell Tymbermann or to his certaign attourney, his executours or to his assignes, the full and hole somme of twentie and foure poundes of good and lawfull monney of England at one entyarelie payment the laste daie of February next comynge after the daite herof withoute any manner of delaie, that then this present obligacion to be utterlie voyde and of none effect or ells to stand and abide in his full powre and vertue.

per me John Parnell

per me William Tukur.

Langton, notary public, 1556.

B.A.O. P. St. J.B./D 202.

48. A POWER OF ATTORNEY FROM A MERCHANT OF ANTWERP, 1559.

Be it knowen to all menne by thies presentes that I, Fraunces de Wynter, marchaunte of Antwerpe, at this present in the Cittie of London rezident, have made, ordeined, constituted and in my place put and deputed my trustie and welbeloved in Christe, Henrye Manyng of Bristo in the countie of . . .¹¹ marchant, and John Sybright of Bristowe, lawer, my very true and lauffull attorneis and deputies joyntlie and severallie for me and in my name and to myne use to aske, leavie, recover and receive of Mathew Marten of Antwerpe, marchaunte, all and singuler suche goodes, wyne and

⁹ See also H.C.A. 24/43/238-40.

¹⁰ D. M. Livock, *City Chamberlains' Accounts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, B.R.S. xxiv (1966), 24-5.

¹¹ Blank in MS.

marchaundizes whatsoever as he, the said Mathewe ever had apperteining unto me, the said Fraunces de Wynter, whearesoever he or thei maye be founde within this Royaume of Englonde or domynions, theareof, gyvinge and by thies presentes grauntinge unto my said attorneis joyntlie and severallie my full and whole power, strength and lauffull aucthorytie touchinge the premises to do, saie, pursue, impleade, arreste, seaze, sequestre, attache, ympryzone, condempne and oute of pryzone to deliver and allso to recover and receive and of the receiptes in that behallf acquittance or other discharge for me and in my name to make, enseall, subscribe and for my dede to delyver and further to doo, saie, finisshe, conclude and determin all and every other thinge and thinges within or aboute the premises shalbe nedefull, necessarye and convenient as fullie and as wholie as I mysealf might doo yf I were there personallie presente, holdinge and by thies presentes establisshinge all and whatsoever my said attorneis for me and in my name joyntlie or severallie shall doo or procure to be done in the premises. Sealed with my seall, yeoven the xxiiijth daye of Decembre, in the seconde yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Quene of Englonde, Frauns and Irelande, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

per me Frances Winter¹²

Geor Kenal

notary

B.A.O. P. St.J.B./D 218.

49. A BRISTOL MERCHANT AT ANTWERP, 1552.

At Andwerp, the vij daye of August, anno 1552.

Be it knowen to all men by this present writting that I, John Startupp of Aylsforde in the Countie of Kent, maryner, do owe to John Gorney, merchaunt of Bristowe, to his assignes, the bringer herof, the some of x^{li}. Which some of tenne poundes coraunt money of England ys to be paid to the said John Gorney the xth day of this present moneth of August. In wittenes herof I, the forenamed John Startep bynd me, myne heyres, executors, assynes, administrators and goodes unto the payment herof. And for a more wittenes of truth I have caused this bill to be made, subscribed my name and setto my seale and the daye and yere above written.

H.C.A. 24/25/1-2.

50. DUTCH FACTORS AT BRISTOL, 1550.

*The replies of Peter Gyleson to an interrogatory of Derrick Francis.*¹³

Ad tertia . . . That on Simon Isebrandson, merchaunte of Tessill in Holland, arryvinge with the said shipp at Bristowe in the cumpanye of

¹² In 1559 Winter described himself as aged 27 years, born in Bruges and resident in London for 10 years, *H.C.A. 13/12/174v.*

¹³ *Gyleson v. Francis* is a lengthy case in the Admiralty Court.

this respondent and the mariners of the said shipp, and havinge, as he seid, an obligacion of dett dew unto him of Dyrycke Fraunces articulate, dyd there at Bristow, by thauctorite of the Mayor, cause the same Dericke to be arrestyd . . .

Ad septima . . . That on Nicholas Loder, master of the shipp articulate and his mariners sayling in the same did departe from Bristowe with the said shipp after that the brefe or warrant mencionid in the said first and second articles was executyd upon her withowte anye consent of this respondent, for that the said Nicholas dyd and might so doe withowte anye leave of this respondent . . .

Ad xi . . . That Gyles Walterson, this respondents father is parte owner of on thred parte of the said shipp and the said Nicholas Loder was owner of on other parte and on Petur Henrickson of Hamsterdam did possesse the other thred parte of the same shipp and seithe that his said father had ladon certeyn goodes in the same shipp to the valew of abowte on hundrethe powne. And that his father had gevyn power to this respondent to dispose and sell the same goods and that he toke no charge of the said shipp . . .

Ad xiiij . . . That the same shipp nevyr made but on voyadge from Hamsterdam to Bristowe after that his said father had bowght parte of the same. And that he, this respondent, went in the same at that voyadge partelye to oversee his fathers goods and partelye to see the countreys and to lerne the speache . . .

From H.C.A. 13/5/373-5.

Peter demonstrated his aptitude for learning the language when the officers of the Admiralty Court came to execute a writ for the arrest of the ship. He received them with many shocking and disgraceful words and, according to the officials, he told them, And yf yow brynge never so many wryttes they shall not bee obeyd here. Therfore carrye them ageyn to the officers of the Admirall Courte and lett them wype there Arses and stoppe musterd pottes with them . . . cum multis aliis scandalosis verbis . . .

From H.C.A. 24/17/11.

51. THE DUTCH CARRY SPANISH WINE TO BRISTOL, 1590.

In January, 1590, John Oliver and Derrick Derrickson chartered the ship, Three Kings of Horne, owner Henry Berchont, for a voyage to Cadiz for sack. Berchont was to be their factor in Spain and to buy for them 200 butts of wine. When he returned to Bristol the following July the Bristol men refused to pay him the cost of the wine and the freight charges of £3 15s. 0d. a ton. He was a seaman, ignorant of English law, knowing little of the language and so was left destitute and fell ill and died in Bristol. His executors were unable to collect the money owing to him.

Req. 2/182/29.

52. THE WILL OF HENRY BERCHONT, 1591.

This ys the last will and testament of me, Henry Barchonte of Horne in Holland, made in Bristoll this ninthe of December, anno a thousand five hundred nynetie one (stilo Anglie)¹⁴ being in good memorye and remembraunce and by me subscribed. Imprimis, I do commende my soule in the handes of God, my Father, unto whome I hope and am certeyne to come thorough the merittes of myne only Medyator and Savyoure, Jesu Christe. Moreover, I do first make and ordeyne executors of this my testament, Dirricke Wolfraet of Dort and John van Dallam, for to recover all suche debtes and goodes as I have in England, specially that which John Olyver and Dirrick Dyrickson dwellinge in Bristoll do owe unto me as appeareth by accompte by me exhibited in Bristoll. This aforesaid debte beinge recovered, the saied executor shall paie all suche debtes as I do owe in Englande. And all that which shall remayne after that all the debtes which I do owe in England, with all the chardges which my saied executors or either of them shall disbourse shalbe paid, that then all that which so shall remayne shalbe paid or made over to Cornelius Berchont, my father at Horne. Touchinge the shippe called the *Three Kinges* of Horne¹⁵ nowe lyinge in the roade of Hungrade, the saied executors shall do with the saied shippe according to the order of my father or the generall owners therof. This thus done in the presence of Dirricke Dirrickson and Master Albert van Otten as witnesses and of us Diricke Wolfraet and John van Dalhaem as executors. *Subscribed Henry Berchant, Diricke Dirrickson, Albertus van Otten as witnesses, Dirricke Wolfraet as executor, John van Dallam as executor.*

P.C.C. 2 Harrington.

53. A BILL OF LADING OF THE *MINION* OF BRISTOL, SAILING FROM LONDON TO MIDDLEBOROUGH.

The *Mynnyon* of Bristow of vj^{xx} ton, William Freakes of the same place, master, laden for Myddelbrogh in Sealand.

TD	no. 1.2.	Thomas Dale tow fardelles
WB	no. 2.3.	William Beecher tow trusses
CB	no. 4	Gilles Broome one pack
HF	no. 1 to 3	Harry Fayrfax three trusses
WP	no. 1 to 4	William Parvyshe foure balletes
RI	no. 3 to 4	Rychard Hollydaye tow packes
AR	no. A	Robert van Acron one fardell

By me William Freekes, master.

S.P. 12/173/57

¹⁴ *The English had not adopted the new calendar introduced by Pope Gregory in 1582.*

¹⁵ *Horne is left out in the MS.*

54. AN ACQUITTANCE FROM TWO HANSEATIC MERCHANTS, 1555.

Be yt knowen to all men by thes presens that we, Bartholomewe Schynckell and John Moller the youngar, have remysid, relessed and alwayes for us, our heires and assignes do quite clayme to Richard Davys of the Cytie of Bristoll, bakar, all and all maner of accion, sutes, quarells, dettes, execucions, condempnacyons, judgements and demawndes whatsoever they be, which we, the said Bartholomewe Schyncker and John Moller the youngar or any of us jonnnctely or severally now have or heretofore have hand or of right owght to have agaynst the said Richard Davys, either in our owne right or in the right or behalfe of oone Petar Claerest of Lubeck or in the behalfe of any other persone or persones whatsoever they be, from the begynnyng of the wordle till the day of the date of thes presentes. In witnesse whereof to thys our present relese we have subscribid our names and putto our seales, yeven the xvijth day of Octobar in the seconde and thyrd yeres of the reignes of our sovereigne Lorde and Lady, Philippe amd Mary, by the grace of God, Kyng and Quene of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defendors of the Fayth, Prynces of Spayne and Cicille, Archedukes of Awstrie, Dukes of Millayn, Burgone and Brabance, Countes of Haspurge, Flandars and Tiroll.

per me Bartelmyus Schinckell

B.A.O. P. St.J.B./D 200.

55. BRISTOL AND THE EASTLAND COMPANY, 1586.

After our hartie commendacions, whereas by reason of the restrayne of trafique into Spayne, the marchauntes of Bristoll that used to trade onelye to those partes are nowe destitute of meanes to employe their stockes, wherbye many that were sett on worke by them are nowe destitute of worke and therby greatlie empoverished. And for that by reason of the scarcietie of grayne, wherby great penurye is fallen emongest the people in those partes and wilbe moche greater in respect of the unlykelihode of the yere to yelde any store of corne unlesse some provision be made for them in other countreys, the saide merchauntes have a good meaning to employe their stockes that way, in case they may be licenced to trade unto those partes beyonde the seas from whence plentye of grayne is usuallie had. We have therfore thought good to require you to whom the trade of those partes is speciallie graunted by priviledge from hir Highnes to lycence the said merchauntes to trade into th' east partes during this tyme of restraynte onelye with twoe or thre shippes, their retourne being intended to be made onelye with grayne for the releif of hir Majesties subjectes in and aboute the saide Citie of Bristoll. Wherin not doubting but you will have dewe consideracion of our request, we finding it so expedient for the necessarie releif of hir Majesties subjectes and in no wise

prejudiciall or hurtfull to your Companye, in case you measure thinges with soche judgement as is meete. We bidd you hartilie farewell from the Courte att Greenwich, the . . .¹⁶ day of June, 1586.

Your loving frendes,

Endorsed: The Merchantes of th' east Countreys.

S.P. 12/190/60.

56. A BRISTOL SHIP RETURNING FROM DANZIG TAKEN BY THE DUTCH, 1586.

Dr. Caesar of the High Court of Admiralty was asked by the Privy Council to report on the case.

My dutie in most humble wise remembred. Whereas it pleased your Lordships by your letters of the ixth of March last past to comaunde me to graunt fourth a comission to William Colston of Bristowe, merchant, for the stay and seazure of anie shippes, goodes or merchandizes appertaining to anie of Zealand to the value mencioned in his petition (sent also unto me) which was 3400^{li} sterling. And whereas since that time upon some informacion made as it semeth that the said Colston ought not to be allowed anie such some, it pleased your Lordships to commaunde me to examine and certefie what I should finde due or convenient to be allowed unto him. It maie please your Lordships to understand that I have traveled herein according to my bounden duty and doe finde by the corporall oth of some which were present in the ship at the taking of the same and other probabilities that the first night that the ship was brought into Flushing, which was 25 August, 1586, there was by spoile and robbrie without all order of lawe, taken out of the same in goods, merchandize and apparell to the value of 900^{li}. And that afterwards by vertue of the sentence of confiscacion, there was taken awaie by the Admiraltie of Zealand as much in wheate, rye, meale and other merchandizes as was well wourth 1146^{li} 8^s. For the freight whereof it appereth that Colston hath paid 240^{li} so that his principall amounteth unto 2286^{li} 8^s. In the pursuit whereof I finde that, accompting the some of 240^{li} lost and paid for his ransome to those of Dunkerk which tooke him prisoner (whilest he followede his cause) Colston hath dispended 600^{li} at the least, whereunto if addicion be made of 381^{li} 6^s 8^d as th' interest of the principall goods for xx^{ty} moneths at x^{li} the cent, which is lesse then the allowance of Holland or Zealand by 40^s in every hundreth, as I amme enformed, I take it that then Colston hath right to demaunde in the whole the some of 3267^{li} 14^s 8^d, bycause the sentence of revision doth give him his principall with his whole costs, damages and interest. Out of which some of 3267^{li} 14^s 8^d what convenientlie may be abated it may please your Lordships to determine and to pardon me herein because in examining the whole

¹⁶ *Blank in MS.*

proceedings I se the poore man hath bin so miserablie toiled, so extreamlie charged and so hardlie dealt withall by his adversaries, through imprisonment in the common gaole at Middleborough and otherwise, that for my parte I should abate him but litle of that which lawe doth allowe him. And so I most humblie take my leave this xxvjth of Aprill, 1588.

Endorsed: The copy of my letter to the Lords touching William Colston of Bristol, 26 April, 1588.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 157/70.

57. THE SCHEDULE OF WILLIAM COLSTON'S LOSSES.

Schedula Prima

In primis, xij laste of wheate at v ^s per bushel	ij ^c lxxiiij ^{li}	
Item, xxj ^{tie} laste of rye at iiij ^s per bushel	ii ^j c ^{li} j ^{li}	xvj ^s
Item, xvij laste of meale at vij ^s per bushel	ij ^c lxxxv ^{li}	xij ^s
Item, xxv barrells of powder	j ^c xxx ^{li}	
Item, three tonnes of smale roapes	lx ^{li}	
Item, xxx ^{tie} barrells of sturgion	xlvi ^{li}	
Summa	1146 ^{li}	8 ^s

Schedula Secunda

In primis, three lastes of flax	j ^c li	
Item, xxv greate coffers whearein are divers other coffers locktt one within ann other at v ^{li} the peece, which makethe	j ^c xxv ^{li}	
Item, one coffer, xxv peeces of fine hollande clothe at v ^{li} the peece, makethe	j ^c xxv ^{li}	
Item, fortie deskes for gentelmen and gentelwoomen, at xx ^s a peece	xl ^{li}	
Item, ij ^c lx paire of playenge tables, at iiij ^s a peece	xxxix ^{li}	
Item, xl paire of tables of maser wood at iiij ^{or} priuch ¹⁷ dollers a peece	xl ^{li}	
Item, xxx ^{tie} calivers at xiiij ^s iiij ^d a peece, maketh	xx ^{li}	
Item, iiij ^{or} newe feather beddes	xij ^{li}	
Item, one silver cupp of fower ounces and halfe	xxvj ^s	
Item, 200 cheeses	x ^{li}	
Item, v ^c shipp poundes of wax	lx ^{li}	
Summa	622 ^{li}	6 ^s 0 ^d

Colston continues with a schedule of his legal and other costs, his losses in clothing and personal possessions and the losses of Richard Colston and the sailors who were with him in the ship.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 143/113-19.¹⁸

¹⁷ Prusse – Prussian.

¹⁸ See also B. M. Lansdowne MS. 157/372, 143/111-34, B.A.O. 04442(1)29. 8. 1588, A.P.C. n.s. xiv-xvi, passim, S.P. 12/229/59.

CHAPTER FOUR

TRADE WITH FRANCE

58. BRISTOL SHIPS CARRYING WINE FROM BORDEAUX.

<i>date</i>	<i>ship</i>	<i>master</i>
26-x-1482	Leonard	William Haz
26-x-1482	Marie Lénaur	Thomas Yonc
30-i-1483	Katherine	Henry Noel

Archives Historiques de la Gironde
Régistre de la Comptabilité de Bordeaux,
1482-1483, t. 1 (Bordeaux, 1915)

<i>fo.</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>ship</i>	<i>master</i>	<i>tons</i>
15v.	27-x-1589	Unicorn	William Meager	100 tons
17v.	31-x-1589	Gabriel	William Doubleday	33 tons
30r.	14-xi-1589	Joseph	Thomas Horel	57 t. 1 pipe 1 barrel
42v.	7-xii-1589	John	Peter Balan	40 tons
109r.	24-iii-1590	Toby	Toby Pares	20 tons
126v.	10-v-1590	Lantillo	William Orfort	76 t. 1 pipe

327 tons 1 barrel

Archives Départementales de la
Gironde, C 4090,
Accounts of the Comptabilité, 1589-1590.¹

59. ENGLISH SHIPS CARRYING WINE FROM BORDEAUX.

1409-10 ²		1482-3 ³		1571 ⁴		1589-90 ⁵	
Dartmouth	27	Dartmouth	11	London	71	London	52
London	13	London	8	Bristol	10	Hull	9
Hull	11	Plymouth	6	Exmouth	} 8	Guernsey	8
Bristol	9	Sandwich	4	Dartmouth		Ipswich	8
Fowey	9	Bristol	3	Ipswich	7	Bristol	6
Plymouth	9	Topsham	2	Hull	7	Lynn	6
		Portsmouth	2	Lynn	7	Southampton	6
		Saltash	2	Poole	6	Yarmouth	5
		(others	10)	Yarmouth	5	Poole	3
				Newcastle	2	Newcastle	3
				Boston	2	Brightlingsea	3
						Falmouth	2
						Dartmouth	2
						(others	5)
						(unidentified	12)

Footnotes 1-5. For references see opposite.

60. A LICENCE FOR THE IMPORT OF GASCON WINE, 1552.

Edwardus the sixth, by the grace of Gode, King of Englande, Fraunce and Ireland, Deffender of the Faith and in erthe of the Churche of England and allso of Irelande the Supreme Hede: to all Maiores, Shrifffes, Bailiffes, Counstable, Customers, Comptrolleres, Searchours, Supervisours, kepers of ovr portes, havens, crikes or passaiges and to all other our officers, ministers and subjectes, this our letteres heryng or seying and to evere of them, gretynge. We let yow wette that of our esspeciall grace, certayne science and mere mocion for certayne causes and consideracions us partly movyng we have licencyd and by thes presentes do licence our welbelovyd servaunt Edwarde Butlar, one of the shewers of our Chamber, that he be hymself, his factours, servauntes, deputes, attorneis and assignes, denizens or strangers and everi or eny of them shall and maye buye and provide in oney the partes of beyonde the seas the number and quantitie of on thousande tonnes of gagscoigne wyne. And the same so bowght and providid, to fraight, schipe and lade or cause to be shipide and laden in or uppon any straungers kele or keelles, bottome or bottoms, beyng in lege and amyte with us, and the same to convaie and transporte at on tyme or divers tymes into this our realme of England, ther to be utred and solde to his or ther moste proffight and advauntages, any acte, statute, ordinance, provision or proclamacion hertofore hade or made or hereafter to be hade or made to the contrarie herof in any wise notwithstanding. Wherefore we woll and commande yow and everie of yow to permite and suffer the saide Edward Butlar, his servauntes, factors, deputes, attorneis and assignes, denyzens or straungres and everi of them to have usse and enjoye the full and wholle effecte and benefite of this licence and graunte, withought any your lett, interupcion, disturbaunce, molestacions, ympediment or contradicion as yow and every of yow tender ovr plesure and will avoyde the contrarye at your perill. Provided allwaies that of our customs, subsidies and other devoyers unto us dew for the premissis we be dulle aunsweride, as reasson is. In witnes wherof, we have causid thes our lettres to be made patentees, witnes owself at Leighes, the vijth daie of July, the fith yere of ovr reign. Knowe ye by thes presentes that the forsaid Edward Butlar hath, by vertu of the saide lettres patentees grauntid to hym, deputid, ordaynyd and transportid unto his belovid John Popley, alias Dene of Bristow, hoper, forte and nyne tons

¹ The names in this account have been anglicised where possible. No matching charter parties were found in Bordeaux nor port books in England.

² E. M. Carus Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol', in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, E. Power and M. Postan (eds.), 205.

³ *Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, t. 1, pp. 1-166.

⁴ B.M. Lansdowne MS. 14/32. Only two ships were "of Bristol", most of the others were from Devon and Cornwall. The books for Chester, Southampton, Plymouth and Fowey were not available when the list was drawn up.

⁵ *Archives Départementales de la Gironde*, C 4090. I owe these figures to the kindness of Mr. C. Cosset of Bordeaux who has been working on this volume of accounts.

of wyne as parcell of the said thowsaunde tons of wyne that he by hymselff, his depute or deputes or any of them shall bryng into the porte, creke, place or places of this realme, accordyng to the purpose, effecte and trew meaning of the said Kynges licence, he or his depute or deputes paing the Kynges Majesties customs for the same accordynglie. And ye shall know and understond that we, the Customers and Comptroler of the Kynges Majesties porte of Bristoll have treuly indorsid and wrytten the said nombre of fortie and nyne tons of wyne grauntid to the said John Poplei, his deputie or deputes on the backside of the saide licence accordyng to the proviso and tennor thereof. In witnes wherof to thes presentes transporte we have put ovr sealles of office. Yevon in the custom howse of the porte of Bristoll, the xvij of February in the vjth yere of the raigne of our soveraign Lorde Kyng Edwarde the vjth.

B.A.O. P. St. J.B./D 607 (Suppl. Cat.)

61. A LICENCE TO TWO BRISTOL MERCHANTS TO IMPORT WINE, 1545.

From the Privy Council to the customs officials at Bristol, a letter requiring them to permit John Smythe and Antony Payne to import and sell 200 tons of French and Gascon wine, Whiche licence the Kinges Highnes grawnted them in consideration of theyre dommages by serving his Majeste this sommer upon the see.

J. R. Dasent, Acts of the Privy Council, n.s. i. 267. 9 November, 1545.

From the Privy Council, a letter to the customer of Bridgwater to release 16 tons gascon wine stayed contrary to the King's licence to John Smythe and another merchant of Bristol for 400 tons.

A.P.C. n.s. i. 296, 20 December, 1545.

62. BORDEAUX WINE IMPORTED UNCUSTOMED.

1532 Henry Jones of Bristol, merchant, seized 3 hogsheads of wine, 2 red 1 claret, the goods of Sebastian Penne, alien merchant, imported uncustomed.

E 159/310 Hil. 32r.

1536 Tristram Lewkenor reported that he had seized 1 hogshead claret wine, the goods of John Drewes, imported uncustomed.

E 159/315 Easter 6r.

1546 John Raven, waiter in the port of Bristol, reported that he had seized 1 hogshead of gascon wine, claret, goods of a merchant unknown, landed uncustomed.

E 159/324 Hil. 5r.

1558 John Martyn of London, haberdasher, reported that he had seized 6 tons of gascon wine, goods of a merchant unknown, landed uncustomed.

E 159/339 Mich. 27v.

63. THE EXPORT OF WINE FROM BORDEAUX TO BRISTOL.

13 January, 1499

*The Katherine of Berkeley**Thomas Butcher, master.**This charter party is headed Los Bristolanis.*

<i>John Shipman, cape-merchant</i>	18 t.	2 tierce
<i>Richard Hoby</i>	24 t.	
<i>Thomas Vaughan</i>	5 t.	
<i>William Wosley</i>	6 t.	
<i>William Dawes</i>	14 t.	
<i>William Hurst</i>	3 t.	
<i>merchants of Bristol</i>	70 t.	2 tierce

au quey de Bristoul in dicta Anglia . . .

A.D.G. 3 E 12203 B. (Bernard, III 70)⁶64. THE BONAVENTURE OF ST. JEAN DE LUZ.⁷

15 October, 1500

Martin de Pelento, master.

<i>John Jancy, cape-merchant</i>	19 t.	
<i>William Hurst, cape-merchant</i>	20 t. 1 p. 1 b. 1 tce.	
<i>Thomas Baron</i>	15 t.	2 tce.
<i>Laurence Howalton</i>	13 t.	
<i>William Monox</i>	8 t.	
<i>John Ede</i>	4 t.	
<i>William Wosley</i>	11 t.	1 b.
<i>Morris Payne</i>	2 t.	1 b.
<i>John Esterfield</i>	6 t.	
<i>Robert Foster</i>	4 t.	
<i>William Seward</i>	7 t. 1 p. 1 b.	
<i>Richard Symons</i>	14 t.	
<i>merchants of Bristol</i>	125 tons wine	

merchants and sailors

2 tons resin

freight charge 4 écus the ton plus the usual dues to be paid by the merchants 21 days after arrival au port de Sainte Katherine en la rivière de Bristoul.

A.D.G. 3 E 12205 (Bernard, III 94)

⁶ J. Bernard, *Navires et Gens de Mer à Bordeaux*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968). These are not taken from Professor Bernard's tables, but are my summaries from the documents with the names anglicised where possible.

⁷ This ship had been sold by de Pelento to a group of Bristol merchants.

65. THE AUGUSTINE OF BRISTOL.

30 December, 1502

Thomas Jones, master.

Hugh Eliott and William Thorne, pursers.

Thomas Baron	9 t. 1 p. 1 b. 1 tce. 2 bales woad
Richard Symons	2 t.
Morris Payne	7 t. 1 p. 1 b. 1 tce.
John Meysam	1 t.
John Spachforth	2 t. 1 p. 1 b.
Edmund Hemming	3 t. 1 b. 1 tce.
Robert Chapman	3 t.
Robert Foster	5 t. 1 p.
James Deram	1 t. 1 p. 2 tce.
William Shipman	4 t.
to the Quay at Bristol	<hr/> 41 t. 2 tce. wine 2 bales woad

A.D.G. 3 E 12204 (Bernard, III 138)

66. THE MICHAEL OF BRISTOL.

25 January, 1503.

David Non, master.

Robert Albert, purser.

Robert Foster	2 t. wine	2 tce. woad
Edmund Hemming	5 t. 1 p. 1 b. wine	1 t. $\frac{1}{2}$ tce. woad
John Meysam	22 pieces resin (1 t.)	6 t. woad
Morris Payne	4 t. 1 p. wine	
William Shipman	2 t. 1 p. wine	3 t. 2 tce. woad
Thomas Gaynard	1 t. 1 p. wine	3 t. 1 tce. woad
James Deram	2 t. 1 p. wine	2 t. 7 measures woad
John Turner	3 t. 1 p. wine	10 pieces resin ($\frac{1}{2}$ t.)
Richard Symons	4 t. wine	
John Spachforth	1 t. wine	2 t. 1 tce. woad
Richard Monox		3 t. 1 tce. woad
Thomas Wosley	2 t. wine	
Henry Toller	2 t. 1 b. wine	
	<hr/> 29 t. 1 p. wine	<hr/> 24 t. 2 tce. 3 measures woad

A.D.G. 3 E 12204 (Bernard, III 138)

67. THE TRINITY OF DITTISHAM.

4 October, 1504

John Heliot, Master.

Thomas Baron of Bristol

44 t. 1 p. wine

au cay deudit Bristoul, the freight charge was 18s. sterling per ton of wine, half to be paid 20 days after the unloading of the ship and half 2 months later, with the usual dues and 4 English crowns for the river pilot at Bristol.

A.D.G. 3 E 12212 (Bernard, III 162).

68. A CONTRACT FOR THE SALE OF WINE.

John de Maucamp, merchant and burgess of Bordeaux, and Thomas Baron, merchant living in Bristol, agreed and contracted that Maucamp would sell Baron, for him and for his factor carrying his letters, 30 tons of wine which Maucamp loaded at Bordeaux for Chepstow on a ship called the Marie of St. Jean de Luz. At Chepstow Baron or his factor were to taste the wines which were to be good and merchantable, not sour, musty or a bad colour. Thomas Baron agreed to sell them and to pay Maucamp 1½ weys of beans for each ton and to pay the taxes of the King of England and the local lords in 24 days after the discharge of the wines at Chepstow. Baron was also to pay the expenses of the crew of the ship up to the time of the discharge of the wines and to pay to Johannicot Dansegnerla of St. Jean de Luz, purser of the ship, 3½ escus in English money for the freight charge of each ton according to the charter party.

A.D.G. 3 E 12211, 16 December, 1502.⁸

69. A DISPUTE BETWEEN A MERCHANT OF BORDEAUX AND SOME BRISTOL MEN.

27 November, 1517, John Boet of Bordeaux registered a charter-party whereby he was to load 92 tons of wine for Chepstow in the ship Marie of Penmarc'h, returning to La Rochelle, Bordeaux or Pasajes in Spain. Half of this wine belonged to two other Bordeaux merchants. He had followed this trade for many years, carrying wine to Chepstow and returning with corn and beans.

A.D.G. 3 E 9456, 27 November, 1517.⁹

30 October, 1518, Boet complained that his ship had been attacked by a number of men from Bristol. In the previous March he had been at Chepstow in the Marie of Penmarc'h and had loaded 38 weys of corn and 35 weys of beans and had obtained a licence for its export. The Marie sailed from Chepstow to Charston's pool in the river Severn to prepare for its voyage to La Rochelle or to Spain and the ship's master decided to send a boat and crew to Bristol to obtain beer and other victuals necessary for the voyage. The boat had been seized by a shipload of armed men and taken to Bristol where the crew were imprisoned. It cost Boet a great deal of time and money to secure their release and he lost his voyage. He asked the Admiral of Gascony to order the arrest of two ships, the Jesus and the Antony of Bristol, belonging to John Drewes, which were at Blaye near Bordeaux, until he had received compensation for his losses.

A.D.G. 3 E 4467/193 (Bernard, II 625, 780).

⁸ See also A.D.G. 3 E 12208, 10 December, 1502 (Bernard, III 134) and a similar contract made with Johannot de Lubespierre as factor of Pierre Faure of Bordeaux in which 20 tons of wine were to be exchanged for 19 Bristol cloths, 10 pers celestes, 2 violets escurs, 2 pers escurs, 2 rouges, 2 oranges, 1 pers cler, A.D.G. 3 E 12211, 16 December, 1502. See p. 91.

⁹ Also see Bernard, III 98, 394, 414, 444.

The case troubled the Court of Star Chamber for more than ten years.

The replication of John Bowett to the answer of John Drewes . . .

Aboute the xvijth daye of Marche next before the seid xth yere, that is to wete the ixth yere of the reigne of oure sovereign Lorde Kyng Henry the viijth, at Kingrode in the pourte of the towne of Brystowe, oon John Rede, Robert Avyntry and Thomas Downell, then owners of the shyp called the *Lytell Jehus* of Brystowe, John Stephyns then master of the same, with the maryners and cumpanye of the same shyp, to the seid Bowett unknowen and oon John Hall, owner of the ship of the seid towne called the *Edwarde*, John Groway, master of the same ship and John Kynge, botswayn of the same, with all other the cumpanye of the same ship to the seid Bowett also unknowen, and oon Wyllyam Robonet, one of the fermors of the ship called the *Lytell Margrett* and master of the same with his cumpanye and maryners of the same ship and oon, John Davys then boteswayne of the ship called the *Greatt Jehus* wherof the seid Drewes then was and yett is owner with all the maryners and cumpanye of the same ship, the namys of theym to the seid Bowett unknowen, and oon John Knocke, John Dale, maryners and manye others aboute the nomber of a C ryotous and evyll dysposed persons to the seid Bowett unknowen, in ryotous and forceable maner arayde, that is to wete, with swerdes, buklers, bowes, aroweis, gonnys and other waypons, ynvasyve and defensyve, riotously assembled att Kingrode in the porte of the towne of Brystowe, by the commaundement of the seid John Drewes, then and there arested a bote of the goodes of the seid Boweyttes and viij of his maryners, then beyng in the same bote and the seid bote and maryners from Kingrode aforseid conveyde unto the towne of Brystowe, whiche Kingrode is dystantt from the same iij miles and more by water, and there wrongffully imprysoned the seid maryners by the space of iij dayes when they shulde have conveyede the ship of the seid Boweyttes, then beyng full fregth and ladyn with redy to take her vyage from the porte of the towne of Chapstowe yn South Wales towards the towne of Burdeaux yn Gaskeny in the parties of Fraunce beyonde the see, and deteyned the seid bote of the seid Boweyttes there att Brystowe aforseid by the space of xxj dayes and wolde yn no wyse deliver the same bote owte of their handes unto the tyme the seid Bowett had att his greatt expences and charges opteyned a commaundement of the Kynges Hyghnes for the deliverie of the bote to the then Mayre and Sherevys of the seid towne of Brystowe dyrected, of the whiche Sherevys the seid Drewes was then oon. By reason wherof the ship of the seid Bowayttes then beyng ladyn and full freight att Chepstowe aforseid, there was fayne to be taryed by the space of a xj wekes and more, so that the seid Bowett lost this maner att that tyme his vyage to his lostes of CCC^{li} and above. For the whiche cause the seid Bowett afterwarde, that is too wete yn October the seid xth yere of oure seid sovereign Lordes reigne, the seid ij

shyppes of the seid Drewes beyng att the porte of Bloye yn the parties of Fraunce, whiche porte of Bloye is dystante from the seid towne and porte of Burdeaux vij leges, oon John Polye, then factor of the seid Drewes, wyth other marchauntes of the seid towne of Brystowe then beyng in the seid ij shyppes, remembryng the seid injureis and wronges done to the seid Bowett at Brystowe aforseid by the seid persons by the seid Drewes commaundementt, durst nott approche the seid towne and porte of Burdeaux with the seid shyppes butt made labor to the Mayre and Jurattes of the seid towne of Burdeaux to have save condett to cum wyth the seid shyppes to the same towne and porte of Burdeaux, there quietly to dyscharge the seid ij shyppes and take there ladyng there for the same withoute eny arrest or molestacyon of the seid Bowett to theym there to be had or made and coude noo suche lycens ne save condett have ne opteyne of the seid Mayre and Jurattes of the seid towne of Burdeaux, except the seid Polye, with the purser of the seid shipp called the *Great Jehus* of Brystowe and the seid other marchauntes of the same towne of Brystowe woll agree wyth the seid Bowett for the seid injureis and wronges to hym don by the seid Drewes and the seid other persons and mysdoers before named. Wheruppon the seid John Polye wyth the seid purser, whiche seid Polye had then auctorytie by letters of attorneye of the seid Drewes to bynde the seid Drewes, his seid ij shyppes and all his goodes, then there bounde theym selffes by their oblygacion to the seid Bowett in the some of ij^c li to be payde to the seid Bowett, his executors or assigneis att the feast of Pentecost then next folowyng for and yn recompens and satysfacion of the seid wronges and injuries don to the seid Bowett by the seid mysdoers att Brystowe aforeseid.

Sta. Cha. 2/5/149-50.

Boet maintained that he had never received adequate compensation, that he had been persecuted by Drewes and Hall through a long series of law suits at Chepstow, at the Court of the Council of the Marches of Wales, in King's Bench and Star Chamber. His trade was constantly interrupted and his money all spent so that he was unable to return to his family in Bordeaux. The Bristol men denied the charges but said that Boet, trading at Chepstow, should still have paid customs dues at Bristol and it was for this that his boat was arrested.

Sta. Cha. 2/26/213, 2/24/243, 200, 180, 2/4/228, 2/25/336.

70. BORDEAUX WINE LANDED AT CHEPSTOW, 1526.

To the most reverend Fader in God, Thomas, Lord Cardynall, Legate a Latere, Archebissop of Yorke, primate of England and Chaunceller of the same.

In moost humble wise compleynyng shewith unto your Grace your daily oratour Patrik Walsh of the town of Youghull in Irland marchaunt, that where your said oratour, beeing at Burdeaux in the parties beyond the see, having there a shipp of his owne of the burden

or portage of lxxx tonnes, oon John Coke and John Gurney, dwellers and inhabitauntes of the town of Bristoll, the xth day of February, the xvijth yere of the reigne of our Souverain Lord the King that now is, made covenaut with the said Patrik to lade and charge in his said ship xl tonnes of gascoyn wyne to be delyverid unto the said John Coke and John Gurney at Bristow for a certain summe of money to be payd unto your said oratour for the freight of the same, as by a charter partye bitwixt theym theruppon made, sealid and delyverid pleyner it apperid. Whereuppon, your said oratour, having in the said ship the seid xl tonnes of wyne among other thynges arryved with the said shipp and wyne in the havon of Chepistow nygh Bristowe, where he entrid the said shipp and marchandises, doying his duetie to the King according to the use and custume there usid the xvijth day of Marche, the yere forsaid. And then and there by consent and comaundement of the said John Coke and John Gurney dischargid out of the said shipp the forsaid xl tonnes of wyne apparteynyng to the said John and John, and the same xl tonnes of wyne conveyde with lighteners unto the Key of Bristoll and there made delyvery of the same unto the said John and John. And theruppon, your said oratour and the said defendauntes accomptid and rekenyd togethers of and uppon the freight of the said xl tonnes of wyne and all contractis and convenauntes past bitwixt theyme comprisid in the said charter partie. Uppon which rekenyng, it was duely provyd that your said oratour on his partie wele and truly observyd and accomplishid all the forsaid contractis and covenautis comprisid in the said charter partie and theruppon the same charter partye with the fre willis and voluntary consentes of both the parties were adnullid, cancellid, determynynd and made voyde.

On 23 April, Walshe was arrested in Bristol and imprisoned on a covenant for damages of £200, having all the expenses of the ship meanwhile and carrying letters for the King from the Lord Deputy in Ireland. As a stranger in Bristol he was afraid he was unlikely to obtain justice there.

C 1/596/17.

71. THE TRINITY OF BRISTOL, 1536.

A charter-party for John Smythe's ship, the Trinity, carrying wine and other goods from Bordeaux.

Esmythe

Codrynthon

Le quinzième jour de Novembre, an susdit,
La *Trenité* de Bristol

En nom de Dieu, etc., estably Johan Darby, mestre emprez Dieu du navire nommé etc., de laquelle sont bourgeois Johan Esmythe et Francoys Codrinthon, marchans du dit Bristol, a confessé que le dit Codrinthon a mis et chargé audit navire au présent port de Bourdeaux lo nombre de cent troys tonneaux, troys barriques et deux tiers de vin.

Scavoir est: pour luy dix sept tonneaux et tiers de vin et cinquante pièces de rosine, pour Johan Esmythe dix sept tonneaux, barrique vin et cent quintaulx de fer d'Espagne, pour Johan Branthom quinze tonneaux deux barriques vin, pour Guilhem Cocqs quinze tonneaux vin, pour Guilhem Sprat deux tonneaux, pour Rafe Lich dix tonneaux et tiers de vin, pour Guilhem Rouller quinze tonneaux, pour Johan Rolland deux tonneaux, pour Johan Chipman ung tonneau, pour Johan Wynther troys tonneaux et pour Guilhem Chipman six tonneaux. Lesqueulx marchans sont du dit Bristol; pour le tout conduyre, Dieu aydant, du premier bon temps convenable jusqu'à port et havre du dit Bristol, pour toutes devises etc., et ce pour le prix et somme de vingt-cinq solz sterlins monnoie d'Angleterre pour le frect d'ung chacun tonneau á compter tonneau pour tonneau. Lequel frect sera paíé audit maistre ou á son commis de par della ès termes ensuyvens, scavoir est, la moitié á la descharge dudit vin et l'autre moitié dedens ung mois amprez. Toutes avaries, deues, tant deça que della seront paíées aux us et coustumes de la mer . . .

A.D.G. 3 E 9814/236v-237r.

72. THE PRIMROSE OF BRISTOL, 1536.

20 November, 1536. *Thomas Glaich, master.*

Thomas Shipman and Owen Thurston, pursers.

<i>John Smythe</i>	14 t.	1 b.
<i>William Shipman</i>	4 t.	1 b.
<i>Francis Codrington</i>	11 t.	1 b.
<i>John Gorney</i>	4 t.	1 p.
<i>William Sprat</i>	7 t.	
<i>Thomas Tizon</i>	2 t.	1 b.
<i>Richard Prynn</i>	3 t.	
<i>William Ballard</i>	2 t.	
<i>Owen Thurston</i>	4 t.	1 p.
<i>John Court</i>		1 p.
<i>John Branthon</i>	7 t.	1 p.
<i>William Cox</i>	5 t.	1 p.
<i>Edward Prynn</i>	2 t.	1 p.
	<hr/>	
	69 tons wine	

to the Quay at Bristol

The same day Shipman and Thurston also registered a contract with Saubadon de Guachico and a crew of eleven seamen, three grommets and a page to sail the ship to Bristol, returning to Bordeaux, Pasajes or St. Jean de Luz. Payment was guaranteed by Pierre Mullet, merchant of Bordeaux.

A.D.G. 3 E 9814/243v-244r.

73. THE *JEHANNETTE* OF PENMARC'H.*This charter-party is headed Les Anglois**1 January, 1553.**Rolain Deyc, master*

<i>William Cox</i>	<i>25 t.</i>	<i>2 b.</i>
<i>Thomas Chester</i>	<i>27 t.</i>	<i>1 b.</i>
<i>James Bayly</i>	<i>16 t.</i>	
<i>John Sonam</i>	<i>10 t.</i>	
<i>Thomas Symons</i>	<i>1 t.</i>	
<i>John Sachefield</i>	<i>4 t.</i>	
<i>Richard Wyatt</i>	<i>6 t.</i>	
<i>Michael Houce</i>	<i>9 t.</i>	
<i>Walter Standfast</i>	<i>1 t.</i>	
<i>William Scortes</i>	<i>1 t. 1 p.</i>	
<i>Alan Barns</i>		<i>2 b.</i>
	<i>101 t.</i>	<i>3 b. wine</i>

*au port et havre de Oucquinerod*¹⁰*The ship was chartered for the Bristol merchants with the Magdelaine of Penmarc'h on 20 December, 1552, their whole freight of wine to be carried to Bristol. The factor was William Geyne of Bristol.**A.D.G. 3 E 2400/1121r-1122r, 1084v-1085v.*74. THE *MAGDELAINE* OF PENMARC'H.*This charter-party is headed Les Anglois.**1 January, 1553.**Jacques le Mellec, master*

<i>William Cox</i>	<i>25 t.</i>	
<i>Thomas Chester</i>	<i>31 t.</i>	<i>3 b.</i>
<i>James Bayly</i>	<i>10 t.</i>	
<i>Nicholas Crosby</i>	<i>1 t.</i>	
<i>John Sachefield</i>	<i>1 t.</i>	
<i>Thomas Young</i>	<i>3 t.</i>	
<i>William Peympol</i>	<i>2 t.</i>	<i>1 b.</i>
<i>William Streuch</i>	<i>4 t.</i>	
<i>Michael Houce</i>	<i>8 t.</i>	<i>1 b.</i>
<i>John Souche</i>	<i>1 t.</i>	
<i>Walter Standfast</i>	<i>1 t.</i>	
<i>John Sonam</i>	<i>9 t.</i>	<i>1 b.</i>
<i>merchants of Bristol</i>		<i>98 tons wine</i> ¹¹

*to Hungroad**A.D.G. 3 E 2400/1122r and v.*¹⁰ *Hungroad.*¹¹ *The total is 97 tons 2 barriques of wine.*

75. BORROWING THE MONEY IN BORDEAUX.

4 January, 1553.

William Geyn factor of Thomas Chester, merchant of Bristol, acknowledged a debt of 150 livres in crowns of the sun at 46 sols tournois per livre, to André Peleau, citizen and merchant of Bordeaux.

A.D.G. 3 E 2401/1137v-1138v.

76. THE GRACE DE DIEU OF LYNN, c. 1589.

	Andrew Gresson, master
Robert Alkin	36 t. 1 b. wine
	8 tierces honey
	81 pieces resin
Henry Chester	10 t. wine
merchants of Bristol	46 t. 1 b. wine
	8 tierces honey
	81 pieces resin
to Bristol	
	A.D.G. 3 E 1726/54r (fos. not in order)

77. THE COST OF A TON OF WINE TO THE LONDON MERCHANT, 1528.

Summa totalis bought by this xj persons
before rehearsed

wyne v^{cl}xiij ton 1 terce 1 cartemoney iij^{ml}viiij^cxij^{li} xjs ijd^{ob}.qr.

Memorandum: that the medin of this said
v^{cl}xiij ton gascon wyne bought at
Burdeaux at the fyrst peny amounting
to the some of

iiij^{li}xix^d sterling
the ton

Item: the charges upon every ton as
apperith hereafter particularly
amonting to the some of

liij^s x^d sterling
the ton

And so every ton one with a nother laied
into the cellars here at London
amountith to by medin

vj^{li}xv^s v^d qr.
the ton

The estimat charges upon one ton wyne bought at Burdeaux, as custom,
freight, etc., as here followith,
furst, the custume ther, average, barring,
etc.,

Item, freight

iij^s viij^d ster.
xviiij^s vj^d
vj^d

Item, lodemanage and primage

Item, the custumes here

iiij^s

Item, literage, cranage and portage

x^d

Item, lechage and oylage after j ton in x

xiiij^siiij^d

Item, the gaging

iiij^d

Item, for sellerage fyred

xij^dItem, for assowraunce after vij^{li} in Cviij^s

Item, for costes in the provision

iiij^s

Summe of theis estimat charges

liij^sx^d

S.P. 2/Fol J(2) 21-9.

78. THE COST OF A TON OF WINE TO THE LONDON MERCHANT, 1583.

It may please your Righte Honourable, understanding that it was your Lordshippes pleasure to be advertised of the prices of the wyne of gascoigne this yeare, uppon the occasion of a proclamacion intended by your Lordeshipp theron, and havinge nowe uppon the arrivall of iiij^{or} or v shippes from Burdeaulx, as well uppon the seighte of marchantes letters as otherwise taken intelligence therof as moche as in me lyethe doe presente the same to your honorable understandinge as followethe:

Imprimis, the price of a tonne of the beste wyne			
ther is xx ^{ti} crownes, the crowne by meanes of			
the exchainge to be accompted at vj ^s vj ^d	vj ^{li}	x ^s	
The charges ther one crowne on the tonne		vj ^s	vj ^d
The freight, prymage and Dover money on			
the tonne		xxxiiij ^s	
The ymposte, subsidy and charges for the service			
of her Majestie on everie tonne		lj ^s	
The leightridge, carriage and porters dewe		ij ^s	viiij
The hoping, selleredge and gaging of everie tonne		vj ^s	viiij ^d
The leacage on the seas and waste on lande		xxv ^s	
Some of the price and charges of a tonne of			
wyne, besydes th'adventure and forbearing of			
ther money is	xij ^{li}	xiiij ^s	x ^d
The laste yeare her Majesties proclamacion was at xiiij ^{li} when then the			
wynes bare price at xx ^{ti} and xxiiij ^{ti} crownes the tonne, the charges then			
as nowe, and herein the marchantes humblie beseche your honorable			
comitheracion towards them.			

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 37/90.

79. THE MARY GRACE OF LYNN, 1554.

At Christmas time in 1554 the Mary Grace was in Bordeaux to seek a cargo for the return voyage to England. Richard Sanderson who owned one-third share of the ship was forced to stay on board for fear of arrest for a debt he owed to a French merchant. When the Frenchmen came on board to search for him the crew hid him in an empty cask stowed deep in the hold and covered with ballast. However, during the twelve days they were in Bordeaux the ship was chartered by a group of Bristol merchants to freight their wines and the crew had to clear the hold of most of the ballast and Sanderson was smuggled ashore into a friend's house. He was afraid that the ship would be seized for his debt so he made a fictitious sale of the ship for £160 to William Parfett, the ship's purser, with the ship's pilot as witness, though only the token God's penny was paid. Sanderson continued to act as owner, paid the crew their Burdeux wages and bought half an ox in Bordeaux and 2 C of fish and other victuals at various ports on

the return voyage. The ship was stayed at Blaye where the pilot went ashore to recover the ship's guns, as th' use and custome ys . . . because noe shipp can be sufferid to carye eny ordnaunce in them upp to Burdeux but must ley the same on land in the Castell there before ther departure thens. Sanderson sent bribes ashore so that they should not be further delayed. From Bristol, where he hosted at the Red Dragon, he rode home to Lynn to see the other owners, and some of his men gave him tokens to carry to their wives. He left telling them not to say he was the owner lest the ship should be arrested in Bristol and miss her next freight for Spain. He sold his share of the ship to Ralph Downes on Palm Sunday, 1555.

H.C.A. 24/27/102, 13/10/28-41, 13/11/1-99.

80. A DISPUTE WITH A BRETON SHIP-MASTER OVER PAYMENT FOR A CONSIGNMENT OF WINE FROM BORDEAUX.

Aujourduy, sixiesme de Janvier, mil cinq cens soixante sept, par devant muy, notaire et tabellion royal en la ville et citté de Bourdeaulx et sénéschaucée de Guienne soubz signé, présens les tesmoings soubzscriptz et nommés, a esté personnellement estably Jehan Quimener, maistre du navire nommé *La Barbe* du Conquet en Bretagne, lequel parlant à Thomas Thindal, merchant angloix, comme serviteur et avant charge de Robert Thindal, merchant de Bristol en Angleterre, la somme et requis luy bailler et paier la somme de deux cens cinquante cinq livres quatorze soulz dix deniers tournois. En laquelle somme le dict Thomas Thindal audict nom est tenu audict Quimener par compte entre eulx faict de reste de la somme de dix sept cens cinquante quatre livres dix soulz. Allaquelle somme se monte le nombre et quanthité de trente thoneaulx une barricque de vin qu'il a cy devant venduz à Anthonie Tampuson, aussi serviteur dudict Tindal, au pris de cinquante huit livres tornois le thoneau. Lequel nombre de vin auroict esté délivré par le dict Quimener au dict Roubert Thindal comme il a faict présentement apparoir par l'acquict signé dudict Tindal inseré au pied du contract de la vente dudict vin, joint que le surplus de la dicte somme de dix sept cens cinquante quatre livres dix soulz tournois luy a esté païé en ceste ville par ledict Thomas Tindal, saulf de la somme de cent trois livres six soulz huit deniers tournois que ledict maistre a reçu audict Bristol audict Roubert Tindal. Et en deffault que le dict Tindal seroict reffuzant ce faire, ledict Quimener a protesté contre luy de toutz despens, dommaiges et interestz, et de se pourveoir comme il treuvera par un siel. Le dict Thomas Tindal a faict responce qu'il n'a aulcune charge ne commission dudict Roubert Tindal, ny n'est son serviteur ne commis, mais que le dict Quimener s'adresse audict Roubert Tindal, si bon luy semble, et neantmoins, qu'il parlera à son conseil. Le dict Quimener a dict que le dict Thomas Tindal a charge et commission dudict Roubert Tindal, comme fera apparoir, si besoing est, attandu que ledict Thomas est venu avec luy puis la dicte ville de Bristol, jusques en ceste ville dans le dict navire comme commis dudict Roubert pour conduire la marchandise qui

estoict dans le dict navire chargée par le dict Roubert. Icelle a vendue et debittée en ceste ville et l'argent provenu de la vente d'icelle paie le surplus de la dicte somme de dix sept cens cinquante quatre livres dix soulz, sauf la dicte somme de cent trois livres six soulz huit deniers tornois qu'il a reçu audict Bristol. Dont et du contenu cy dessus le dict Quimener a requis acte à moy notaire luy en estre fait pour luy servir et valloir en temps et lieu comme de raison. Ce que luy ay octroïé par le deu de mon office et neantmoins le contenu cy dessus a esté donné à entendre audict Thomas Tindal par Sire Bernard Fourton le jeune, corretier, juré de Bourdeaulx en langage angloix. Faict audict Bourdeaulx en présences de Nicollas Hamont, merchant Brethon, et Jehan Demontenon, habitant dudict Bourdeaulx, tesmoins à ce requis, aussi signis à la minutte de ces présents, Bernard Fourthon, N. Hamont et le dict Quimener a fait sa merche. Et tout incontinent, ce dessus fait, le dict Quimener parlant audict Thomas Tindal, la somme et requis luy dire et déclarer quel paiement il luy a fait en ceste ville de Bourdeaulx sur et en déduction de la dicte somme de dix sept cens cinquante quatre livres dix soulz tournois. Ledict Thomas Tindal, parlant par l'organe dudict Fourton, a dict et déclaré que, pour faire plaisir audict Roubert Tindal, il a vendu en ceste ville certain nombre de draps et aultre marchandises que ledict Roubert avoict chargés audict navire. Dont de l'argent qui en est provenu, il en a païé audict Quimener la somme de treize cens quatre vingts quinze livres huit soulz six deniers tornois sur et en déduction de la dicte somme de dix sept cens cinquante quatre livres dix soulz tornois et que le reste de la dicte somme, sauf de la dicte somme de cent trois livres six soulz huit deniers tornois que le dict Quimener a reçu dudict Roubert Thindal est deu par le dict Roubert audict Quimener qu'est le dict reste ladicte somme de deux cens cinquante cinq livres quatorze soulz dix deniers tornois pour avoir paiement de laquelle le dict Quemener se peult adresser audict Roubert Tindal duquel icelluy Thomas a déclaré n'avoir charge ne commission aucune. Le dict Quimener a protesté contre le dict Thomas Tindal en semble contre le dict Roubert de toutz despens, dommaiges et interestz qu'il pourra souffrir à cause du retardement du paiement de la dicte somme de deux cens cinquante cinq livres xiiij soulz dix deniers tournois. Et de se pourveoir contre le dict Roubert Tindal par les voies et remèdes de justice et du contenu cy dessus le dict Quimener a requis acte à muy, notaire, luy en estre fait pour luy servir et valloir comme de raison ce que luy ay octroïé par le deu de mon office. Faict au dict Bourdeaulx en présences des dits Hamon et Demontenon tesmoins au requis. Ausi signés à la minutte Thomas Tyndalle, Bernard Fourton et le dict Quimener a fait sa merche.

Lalane (notary's mark)

A note is appended acknowledging the payment of the residue of the debt to Quimener in San Sebastian in February 1569 by Peter Cooper, another apprentice of Robert Tyndall.

Endorsed: Antony and Peter.

B.A.O. P. St. J.B./D. 659.

81. A BRISTOL MERCHANT BUYS WOAD IN EXCHANGE FOR CLOTH, 1499.

de la Garde et Joffre.

En nom de Diu sia amen. A totz aquetz qui las présentes lectras veiran et legir audiran sia nothori que aujournduy date de lasdeitas présentes, en presencia de myn Jacques Turpaud, clerc notari Reyau en Guiayne et deus testimonis deus escriptz et nonmatz, son estatiz personaument constituitz honestz homes Marticot de la Garda, marchand et borgues de la cuitat de Baione d'una parte, et Guilhem Joffre, marchand et borgues de la villa de Bristoul au Reyaume d'Angleterre d'autre part. Lasquaues avantdeytas partidas de lur bon grat an deit et confessat que eras an feyt et passat, et per tenor de las présentes fen et passan lurs pactes convenances par maniera de barganha en la forme et maniera que seusecq so es assaver que en fasan ladeita barganha lodeit Marticot de la Garda disso et confesset qued a vendut audeit Guilhem Joffre, aquimedis, présent, stipplunt et recevent lo nombre de vingt et una pipa de pastel de reste deu nombre de trente pipas de pastel de la garentia de cincq marcs d'esterlins de l'assay deudeit Bristoul, acompter quatre quarteiras par cascuna pipa et quatre mesuras par cascuna quarteira, en tau maniera que cascuna quarteira deu far ladeita garentia deusdeits cincq marcs d'esterlins de l'avantdeit assay de Bristoul. Totas lasquaues avantdeytas vingt et una pipa de pastel de la sordeyta garentia l'avant dit Marticot de la Garda deu et es tingud et a mandat, convent et promys, rendre, balhar et liurar audeit Guilhem Joffre o à sons hers et ordenh o à son factor et actornat, commes et depputat, portador de l'una lettra de lasdeitas présentes dinctz ung chay de la presenta villa et ciutat de Bourdeu, franques et quictes de chayatge et pipatge. Et asso dintz lo darrey jorn du mes de Fevrey premeirament venent sens aulcun contredict. Et per semblable condicion et maniera que dessus en faisant ladeita barganha l'avantdeit Guilhem Joffre deu et es tingud et a convent et promes, rendre, balhar et liurar audeit Marticot de la Garda o à sons hers et ordenh o à sons factor et actornat, commes o depputat, portador de l'una lectre de lasdeits présentz, lo nombre de detz draps de Bristoul au petit sunoys bons et marchantz, so es assaver: tres pers escurs, tres verdz escurs, ung violet et tres pers célestes, plus sept escutz petitz moneda d'Espagne, acomptar cent et detz arditz per cascun escut, et asso en draps bons et marchantz deutz Bristoul, et plus la soma de seys vinges escutz petitz, acomptar cum dessus, et asso dintz lodeit darrey jorn deu mes de Fevrey premeirament venent en prenent lodeit pastel sens alcuna cotradiction . . .

There follows an obligation on both sides to observe the terms of the contract.

Witnesses: Johan Bernol, merchant and burgess of Bordeaux.

William Wosley, merchant living in Bristol.

A.D.G. 3E 12203 B, 29 October, 1499.

82. ANDRE GUILHOT AND WILLIAM DAWES, 1498-9.

William Dawes, merchant of Bristol, acknowledged a debt to André Guilhot, merchant and citizen of Bordeaux, of 640 francs bordelais. Of this sum, 220 francs was a loan made by Guilhot to Dawes and 420 francs was payment due for 20 tons of wine, white, red and claret, at 21 francs per ton. Dawes admitted having received both the loan of 220 francs and the wine and promised to repay Guilhot or his agent at the Feast of St. John the Baptist following with 13 Bristol broad cloths. There were to be five of sky blue, three of dull blue, two of bright green, one violet and one dull green at the price of 18 écus per cloth, with more cloths if necessary to make up the whole sum. Guilhot then agreed that he would supply Dawes with 11 pipes and 6 measures of woad, 9 pipes and 14 measures of the guarantee of 5 marks sterling and one pipe and 8 measures of the guarantee of 6 marks sterling of the assay of Bristol. For the price of the woad Dawes acknowledged a new debt to Guilhot. The following April Dawes came to Bordeaux and told Guilhot that he had a ship of Bristol in the river, on which the woad was to be loaded, at the same time giving him to understand that he had another Bristol ship in the Garonne on its way to the port with the agreed cargo of cloth, promising to repay his former debt in full. Then he loaded the woad secretly at night and departed without delivering to Guilhot the cloth or satisfying the debt. Dawes was pursued and returned to Bordeaux to the house of Etienne de Loberie, his host, who arranged a meeting with Guilhot where Dawes gave pledges for payment of the debt and de Loberie stood surety for him when the whole transaction was recorded by the notary.

A.D.G. 3 E 12203 B, 18 December, 1498 and 25 April, 1499.

83. RICHARD HOBY AND MARTICOT DE LA GARDA, 1499.

William Hurst, factor of Richard Hoby merchant of Bristol, and Marticot de la Garda, merchant of the city of Bayonne, registered with the notary an agreement that Hoby would supply de la Garda with 36 Bristol cloths, good and merchantable and of various colours. There were to be 4 dull blue, 1 dull green, 2 bright green, 2 violet, 1 red and 8 sky blue. The other 18 pieces were to be au petyt sunoys and 4 dull blue, 1 dull green, 1 bright green, 2 violet, 1 red, 1 grey and 8 sky blue. William Hurst, as factor for Richard Hoby, promised to deliver all the cloths in Fuenterrabia in Spain, half at St. James' day in July following and the other half at the feast of St. Michael in the next September. In payment for the cloth, Marticot de la Garda agreed to deliver to Richard Hoby or to his factor carrying a copy of the agreement, 20 pipes of woad of the guarantee of 5 marks sterling of the assay of Bristol, counting 4 quarters to each pipe and 4 measures to the quarter. Marticot de la Garda promised to deliver all 20 pipes of woad to Richard Hoby or to his factor carrying a copy of the contract, at Bordeaux at Michaelmas in the following September free of all dues ...

A.D.G. 3 E 12203 B, 25 November, 1499.

84. PIERRE FAURE AND THOMAS BARON, 1502.

Johan de Lubespere, factor of Pierre Faure of Bordeaux, sold to Thomas Baron, merchant of Bristol, 20 tons of wine to be carried to Chepstow. In return Baron was to supply 19 Bristol cloths, 10 sky blue, 2 dull violet, 2 dull blue, 2 red, 2 orange and one clear blue, to be loaded at Chepstow for Bordeaux.

A.D.G. 3 E 12211, 16 December, 1502.

85. WALTER PEPARD AND ARNAUD DE LESTONNAR, 1538.

Walter Pepard merchant of Bristol, agreed to supply Arnaud de Lestonnar and his factors, Bernard de Cazaubon and John de Belsunce, with 150 assorted halfcloths. The consignment was to consist of 60 dull grey russets, 40 blues and 50 tawny oranges, also 150 Manchester friezes, 15 whites, 30 greens and 15 yellows, 30 black, 40 grey and 20 pieces couleurs étranges. They were to be free on board ship at Bristol, free of all customs dues and taxes except for wrappers, cords and packing and were to be delivered at Bordeaux in the following February, the cloths at 12 livres tournois the piece and the friezes at 8½ livres tournois the piece. Pepard was to be paid in Bordeaux with 100 bales of woad of 4 capassos each bale of a guarantee of 28 florins and at a price of 10½ livres tournois each bale. He was also to receive 30 tons of wine at a price of 45 francs bordelais the ton. This wine and woad Pepard acknowledged that he had received and had tried and tasted the wine and agreed the quality of both. John Drewes of Bristol stood surety in 1,000 livres tournois through his factor William Jones and a letter and other papers in English from Drewes were attached to the agreement.

A.D.G. 3 E 9816/163r-165v, 23 November, 1538.

86. WINE TASTING.

The courtiers of Bordeaux were forbidden to take foreign merchants into the countryside to choose their own wines. During the 1550s this edict seems to have been applied much more strictly to the English.

In 1552 Alexander Casse, merchant of Bristol, having bargained for the sale to a French merchant of 60 Bristol cloths in exchange for 30 tons of wine, then refused to accept the wine on the grounds that he had not seen them, drunk or tasted them.

A.D.G. 3 E 2403/1409v-1410v, 2 March, 1553.

1554. 27 février, Un Anglois représente avoir acheté quarante tonneaux de vin en Médoc, lequel il voudroit aller chercher, mais que, comme il avoit été défendu aux dits Anglois d'aller acheter des vins dans les campagnes sans permission et sans courtier, il demandoit l'un et l'autre à MM. les Jurats.

Sur quoy: il est permit audit Anglois d'aller chercher ledit vin en compagnie d'Arnaud de Lalane, auquel il est enjoint de ne pas l'abandonner, de prendre garde qu'aucun tort ne luy soit fait, et rapporter ou il auroit été et ce qu'il auroit fait.

Les Régistres de la Jurade, I. 166-7.

1559. 4 octobre, Défenses faites à toute manière de gens de mener aucuns marchands, même anglois, dans les campagnes pour leur faire gouter et acheter des vins autres que les bourgeois pour le vin de leur crû, avec permission de MM. les Jurats.

Les Régistres de la Jurade, I. 168.¹²

87. WILLIAM JEFFERIES BUYS WOAD, 1496.

G. Joffre xxviiij Novembris, lxxxxvj.

Conoguda etc., que Pierre de Chossa et Mathiu de Balenguey, marchantz de la villa de Baione per et au nome de honorable home Augier de la Garda, ciutadan et borgues deudeit Baione, reconoguoren etc., auer vendut etc., a Guilhem Joffre, marchant de la villa de Bristoul au Reyaume d'Angleterre, présent, lo nombre de quinze pipas et detz mesuras de pastel de la garentia de seys marcs de l'assay deudeit Bristoul, à comptar quatre quarteiras par cascuna pipa et quatre mesuras par cascuna quarteira . . .

Howalton xxix dictis mensis

Conoguda etc., que honest homme Jehan Doro, marchant paropiant de St. Miqueu de Bordeu, reconoguo etc., auer vendut etc., a Laurens Howalton, marchant de Bristoul au Reyaume d'Angleterre, et a Edoward Guips, mestre du navire nommat la *Marie Beloux* deudeit Bristoul. Le dit Laurentz, present, etc. lo nombre de quatre pipas et tres mesuras de pastel, ascauer es, audiet Laurentz tres pipas et tres mesuras et audeit mestre ung pipa de la guarentia de cincq marcs d'esterlins de l'assay deudeit Bristoul, acomptar etc. . . .

A.D.G. 3 E 12198, November, 1496.

88. MARTICOT DE LA GARDA AND JOHN HARRIS, 1498.

Marticot de la Garda, merchant of Bayonne, and John Harris, merchant of Bristol, registered with the notary an agreement that de la Garda would supply to Harris 40 pipes of woad of a guarantee of 5 marks sterling of the assay of Bristol, counting 4 quarterons to the pipe and 4 measures to the quarteron. In turn Harris was to sell to de la Garda 70 Bristol cloths, to be packed in parcels of 10 cloths of assorted colours, carefully specified, the whole to be delivered in Fuenterrabia in Spain. . . .

A.D.G. 3 E 12203 B, 7 November, 1498.

¹² See also *Les Régistres de la Jurade, I. 123, 166-8. Régistres de la Jurade, V. 290. A.H.G. 44, the Register of the Town Clerk, 5, 20, 49, 64. A.H.G. 14, pp. 155-6.*

89. PIERRE DE SANGUINET AND THOMAS BARON, 1499.

Six months previously, in the town of Fuenterrabia in Spain, Pierre de Sanguinet, merchant of Bayonne, and Thomas Baron, merchant of Bristol, agreed that de Sanguinet should supply to Baron in Bordeaux at Michaelmas 10 pipes of woad of the guarantee of 5 marks sterling of the assay of Bristol to be paid by 100 escuz petitz moneda corant audeit Fonterrabia.

A.D.G. 3 E 12203 B, 26 February, 1499.

90. MORE PURCHASES OF WOAD, 1500.

Johan Fernols, factor of S. Guylhiche, merchant of Bordeaux, sold to Richard Symons of Bristol, 5½ pipes of woad of a guarantee of 5 marks sterling and 2 pipes of a guarantee of 6 marks sterling of the assay of Bristol.

Pey de Lestonna, merchant of Bordeaux, sold to Robert Roland 10 pipes of woad of a guarantee of 5 marks sterling of the assay of Bristol, counting 4 quarterons to the pipe.

A.D.G. 3 E 12205, 28 April, 1500.

91. THOMAS BEYT AND THOMAS CLERC, 1504.

Thomas Beyt and Thomas Clerc, angloismarinies, living in the town of Bristol, bought from a merchant of Bordeaux 7 pipes of woad, 4½ pipes of 6 marks of the assay of Bristol, counting 4 quarterons to the pipe and 4 measures to the quarteron, and 2½ pipes of a guarantee of 5 marks, the assay to be made by skilled dyers of Bristol.¹³

A.D.G. 3 E 12210, 21 June, 1504.

92. ROBERT HOWACH AND PIERRE DE POYO, 1504.

Robert Howach, master of the ship George of Bristol, purchased 24 bales of woad, amounting to 3 tons, from Pierre de Poyo, merchant of Bordeaux. The woad was to be carried to Bristol at a charge of 14 shillings in English money per ton, for delivery to John Jay, merchant of Bristol.

A.D.G. 3 E 12212, 14 August, 1504.

93. JOHN MEYSAM AND YTEY BLANC, 1504.

Gaillard de Mantaland and Guilhem de la Guisquet, factors of Ytey Blanc, merchant and burgess of Bordeaux registered the sale of 14 pipes of woad to John Meysam, merchant of Bristol, the woad to be of the guarantee of 6 marks sterling of the assay of Bristol, counting 4 quarterons to the pipe and 4 measures to the quarteron, and every

¹³ It was unusual for sailors to afford a valuable commodity like this as part of their portage. They would not accept the copy written in French but asked for one to be made in the kind of *lingua franca* apparently used by seamen in the Biscay ports.

*quarteron to be of the guarantee of 6 marks sterling. John Meysam was to swear on the Testament that the assay had been faithfully carried out by skilled dyers of the town of Bristol. If any of the woad was not of the stated value, de Mantaland and de la Guisquet would pay the difference and all reasonable expenses to Meysam or to his representative carrying a copy of the contract.*¹⁴

A.D.G. 3 E 12210, 16 March, 1504.

94. THOMAS BARON AND A MERCHANT OF BURGOS, 1510.

A copy of a letter from Pierre del Poyo, acting as factor for Rodiguo de Bailliadoli,¹⁵ merchant of Burgos, requiring Thomas Baron to deliver 9 sacks of woad which he had sold to the Spanish merchant but which he had taken to be assayed and had not yet delivered.

A.D.G. 3 E 12206, 29 March, 1510.

95. THOMAS PINSON AND JOHN COLAS.

To the most reverent Father in God, Willyam, Archebyssshop of Caunterbury and Chaunceller of Englonde.

In most humble wyse sheweth unto your good and gracyous Lordshyp your dayly oratour, Thomas Penson of Brystoll, merchaunt, that whereas your seid oratour was bound by an oblygacyon of the summe of x^{li} unto John Colas of the same towne, marchaunt to delyver unto the same John Colas one pipe of wode of Tollous conteynyng xvj mesures after the mesuryng of wode, wheruppon your seid oratour, beyng beyond the see in the partyes of Spayne, sent over to his wyff one pype of Tollous wode to delyver unto the seid John Colas, which she delyvered to the seid John Colas and he the same receyved. Which receyte notwithstanding, the same John Colas hath nowe a late, at the retorning whome of your seyd oratour, comensyd an accion of the somme of x^{li} of the seid oblygacyon ageynst your seid oratour in the Staple Courte of Brystoll byfore the Mayre of the same towne, beyng Meyre of the Staple there, pretending the seid pype of Tollous woode to lak iiij or v mesures of the seid xvj mesures and, notwithstanding that your seid oratour bought the seid pype of Tollous wode after the rate of the seid content of xvj mesures and so veryly bylevyth that the seid pype conteyned at the tyme of the delyvery therof to the same John Colas, yet your seid oratour wylling to be in rest and peas with the same John Colas, hath offred to recompens hym in money as mych as he can prove that the seid pype lakkyd of the seid xvj mesures. With the which resonable offre the seid John Colas wold in no wyse hold hym contentyd but of his gredy covetous mynde intending and is lyke to recover ageynst your seid oratour in the seid Courte the seid hole summe of x^{li} ageynst all ryght and good conscyens . . .

C 1/348/30.

¹⁴ For a more detailed description of the assay see Arch. Mun. Bayonne, Régistres Gascons, i pp. xxvii, 55-6, 70, 95, 126, 131, 324-5.

¹⁵ Possibly Rodrigo de Valladolid.

96. A RECORD OF A BILL OF EXCHANGE, 1504.

Thomas Baron of Bristol acknowledged a debt to Pierre de Poyo, merchant and burghess of Bordeaux, of £22½ current money of England for a loan made to him in Bordeaux. This was to be repaid to Ferrande Dasse, merchant and citizen of London, in London during August or eight days after, in the manner of exchange that merchants are accustomed to use. If Baron did not pay Dasse, John de Boucau, merchant of Bordeaux, was to pay Pierre de Poyo 112 ½ écus of gold in the following November. Baron then entered into an obligation to repay Boucau.

A.D.G. 3 E 12211, 5 July, 1504.

97. BRISTOL MERCHANTS BORROWING IN BORDEAUX, 1536.

William Jones and Augey Daumonguey, merchants of Bristol, for themselves and as factors of John Drewes of Bristol, borrowed from Jaimes de Carricard 24 crowns of the sun gold and of full weight to be repaid in one month from the date of the agreement.

A.D.G. 3 E 9814/252r and v.

98. JOHN GURNEY ACKNOWLEDGES A DEBT TO PIERRE MULLET, 1537.

John Gurney, merchant of Bristol, acknowledged a debt to Pierre Mullet, merchant of Bordeaux, of 690 crowns of the sun, gold and of full weight for the sale to him to 60 tons of wine which he agreed he had received, tasted, enjoyed and accepted as good. Gurney bound himself, his executors and assignes, to repay the debt to Mullet in Bordeaux the following March.

A.D.G. 3E 9815/166r.

99. THE NYCOLLAS OF PENMARC'H, 1537.

10 December. 1537.

Jehan le Saal, master.

<i>Henry Howyth</i>	<i>60 t. wine</i>	<i>59 b. tar</i>
<i>Thomas Hyat</i>	<i>25 t. 3 b wine</i>	
<i>Augey Daunonguey</i>	<i>28 t. wine</i>	<i>10 pieces resin</i>
		<i>20 fouyers resin</i>
<i>Richard Cendres</i>	<i>2 t. 1 p. wine</i>	

au port et havre de honquerot en la rivierre de Bristol.

The freight charge was 8 livres tournois per ton, except 1 ton for the God's penny – le donne à dieu – to be paid to the master or his agent in Bristol 30 days after the arrival of the ship at Hungroad.

The same day they acknowledged a debt of 130 écus soleil in gold and of full weight lent to them by Jehan le Saal, the master of the ship, to be repaid 20 days after the arrival of the ship.

The Bristol men also confessed a debt of 650 écus soleil to John Daste of Bordeaux for 100 tons of wine sold to them which they had tasted and agreed to accept and had laden in the Nicholas of Penmarc'h. This sum was to be repaid to Daste or to Jehan Prionceau, his agent, at a rate of 15s. per écu soleil, 30 days after the discharge of the ship. Thomas Howyth, father of Henry Howyth had given pledges for payment and le Saal had agreed not to deliver the wines until the money was paid. If the merchants failed to pay, Daste could take up the full sum at change and rechange at their expense.

A.D.G. 3 E 9815/204v-206, 10 December, 1537.

100. ANOTHER BILL OF EXCHANGE TO BE REPAID IN LONDON, 1569.

Radclef

Du dit jour xvj^e de mars.

Saichen tous que par devant moy Raoul Brigot, notaire et tabellion royal en la présente ville et cité de Bourdeaux et sénéchaussée de Guyaine, et en la présence des tesmoins cy après nommés, a esté personnellement estably Nycollas Gainsford, marchand de Bristol, lequel a confessé debvoir à Anthonie Radclef, marchand et bourgeois de la ville de Londres, absent, Robert Lee, son serviteur et facteur, à ce présent pour luy avec moy stippullant et acceptant la somme de cent vingt cinq livres tournois pour raison de pareilhé somme à luy prestée, qu'il a receu sur ces présentes en escus soleil, testons et monnoye qu'il a compté et nombré dont s'est tenu content. Laquelle dite somme de cent vingt cinq livres tournoys le dit débiteur a promis et sera tenu payer audit lieu de Londres audit Radclef ou qui pour luy sera dedens vingt jours après ces présentes veues, avec le change de six solz huit deniers sterlins monnoye courante en Angleterre pour escu. Et ou il n'auroit payé la dite somme dedens le dit terme de vingt jours après ladite presente veue a voullu que le dit Radclef puisse prendre icelle somme à change et rechange aux despens du dit Gainsford. Et sur ces présentes a esté personnellement estably Edouard Chestre, marchand de Bristol, lequel de son bon gré est entré plege et caution pour ledit Gainsford envers ledit Radclef pour luy payer la dite somme à change à la raison que dessus dedens ledit terme dont il a faict son propre debte . . .

A.D.G. 3 E 2422/313v-314v. 16 March, 1569.

1 June, 1570. Edward Holmes of London, freemason, came into the Exchequer Court and gave information that one Nicholas Gainsford of the city of Bristol, merchant, between 1 November last and the 3 January, had loaded at Kingroad and elsewhere in the port of Bristol in the ship Phoenix of Bristol, Richard Maunsell then the owner,¹⁶ 53 pieces of cloth called Manchester cottons for export uncustomed and should forfeit these goods.

E 159/360 Trin. 34v.

¹⁶ Gainsford had been apprenticed to Rice Maunsell in 1557, B.A.O. 04352(1)596.

101. A BRISTOL MERCHANT SPEAKING FRENCH, 1589.

On the morning of 13 November, 1589, Walter Spurway, merchant of Bristol, speaking French, acknowledged a debt of 300 écus soleils to Jehan le Prat, merchant and burgess of Bordeaux for the purchase of wine.

A.D.G. 3 E 1726, 13 November, 1589.

102. A BRISTOL FACTOR IN PRISON IN BORDEAUX, 1503.

*facta est et signata manibus dictorum attestancium*¹⁷

A tous ceulx quy ces présentes lectres verront et ourront, le garde et exeuteur des seel et contreseel Royaulx establiz aus contractz en la villa et cité de Bourdeaux pour le Roy notre Sire, Salut. Scavoir faisons que aujouduy dessoubz escript par davant maistres Nicolas Bodet et Jacques Turpaud, clerks notaires Roiaux es pays et Duchie de Guienne, et es présences des témoins desoubz escriptz et nommés, à la supplication et requeste de Edmond Hemyng, marchant Angloyx, détenu prisonnier au dit Bourdeaux, et serviteur de Richard Baccan et facteur de Guilhem Appowel, marchand bourgeois, habitant de la ville de Bristoul au Royaulme de Angleterre. Ont este présents et personnellement establiz honnorable hommes Jehan Wyot, Johan War, Thomas Pynnsson, Jehan Chypman, Robert Roloan, Jacques Cole, Guilhem Rep, Richard Wals, Thomas Hawkyens, Jehan Meyssan et Jehan Edd, marchans habitans de ladite ville de Bristoul. Lesqueulx non induytz, seduytz, ny par crainte, force, fraude ou machination senestre aulchunement circumvenu pour la déclaration de la vérité des choses dessoubz escriptes, ont dit, déppousé, certifié et attesté par devant les dits notaires et tesmoins par serement par eulx et chacun d'eulx aus Saintz Evangiles de notre Seigneur corporelement de leurs mains dextres touchés fait et presté, savoir est que le dit Edmond est serviteur du dit Vachan et certainement facteur du dit Guillem Appowel et que les dits Vaccan, Appowel et leur dit facteur, ensemble Thomas Barcot, marchant Angloyx qui au présent réside en la ville de Fonterrebie au Roiaulme d'Espaigne, sont marchand et bourgeois de la ville de Bristoul et vrays subgetz et obaisans de Roy d'Angleterre et que le fait, exercice et negotiation de marchandise que le dit Thomas Barcot fait négocie et exerce au dit Fonterrabe le fait comme negociateur et entremecteur des négoces et faitz de marchandise tant de Nicholas Bron, aussi bourgeois du dit Bristoul et subget du dit Roy d'Angleterre comme les dits déppousans par leurdit serment ont dit et déppousé, que d'autres merchans angloix et d'abondant qui ont dit et déppousé que certain fer qui despuys le jour de Saint Jehan Baptiste darnibrement passé en ça a esté chargé audit Fonterrebie en la nef nommée *Le Julian Bonaventure* de Bristoul pour le aller vendre et adenerer à La Rochelle, le susdit Thomas Barcot comme facteur et negociateur du dit Nicholas Brown et d'autres marchans Angloix

¹⁷ *A marginal note often found as an abbreviation on these documents.*

l'avoit mis et chargé audit navire, et d'icelluy fer ledit Barcot en avoit baillé charge audit Edmond pour le veoir, vendre et adenerer pour et au nom et au profit et utilité dudit Nicolas Bron, comme les dits déppousans ont dit et affermé par leurdit serment et pour ledit Nicolas Bron ledit Edmond en a prins et receu les deniers qui en sont advenuz comme le dit Edmond a dit et tesmoigné. Desquelles choses susdits le dit Edmond Hemyng a requis esdits notaires dessus nommés que luy en fissent et octroyassent sesdits présentes lettres pour luy servir et valoir en temps et lieu, ce que luy ont octroyé comme de raison. Signées des propres mains des dits déppousans per plus grand valeur de leurdite dépposition. Et nous le garde et exeuteur susdit a la féale relation et signature desdits notaires dessus nommés ausqueulx nous sur ce adjoustons plénière foy le dit seel et contreseel que nous gardons à ces dites présentes avons mis appousés en tesmoing de vérité des chouses avantdites. Ce fut fait et octroïé en ladite ville de Bourdeaulx es présences de honestes hommes, Jehan Gilbault, Jehan Mounier et de André de Costa de Coustedoat, bourgeois dudit Bourdeaulx. Le douzième jour du moys d'Octobre, l'an mil cinq cens et troys.

A.D.G. 3 E 12209, 12 October, 1503.

103. ANOTHER FACTOR IN TROUBLE IN BORDEAUX, 1522.

To the moost Reverent Father in God, my lorde Cardynall Archebisshop of Yorke and Chauncellor of Englund.

In this mooste humble wise shewith unto your grace your contynuell orator Leonard Osborn of Brystowe, marchaunt, that where iij yeris paste or ther aboutes one Gerom Grene of Bristowe aforsaid, marchaunt, desired your saide orator to be his generall Attorney and Factour within the towne of Burdeux for all suche marchaundise as shulde be in the saide towen bought by the saide Gerom or in any maner to his use, and to sewe in the name of the saide Gerom oon John Maryon of Morbyhon, Breten, for a deceyte which the saide John did to the said Gerom by reason of a shippe which the said John sowlde unto the said Gerom. At which desire and request so made by the said Gerom, your said oratour covenautid and promysid to the saide Gerom to be his true factor and attorney in the towne of Burdeux aforsaid by reason wherof the saide Gerom caused an instrument to be made by a notary testyfyng the same according to the custume of the saide town and therupon sworne upon the Holy Evangelist for the performance therof and your said oratour hath truly endeverid himself not only concernyng his factorship but also had the saide John Maryon in preson for the saide deceyte doon unto the saide Gerom. And so it is, mooste gracious Lord, that the saide Gerom borowid of your saide oratour in the saide towen of Burdeux xx^{li} sterlyng and commaundid your saide orator to abide in the said town of Burdeux as

his factour untill suche tyme as he shulde send your saide orator . . .¹⁸ saide towne of Burdeux a shipp with merchaundise therin and also a commaundement to cum into Englund. And also he promysed . . . orator to send him the said xx^{li} sterling in the said shippe which he borrowed of your seid oratour and to allow your orator for all . . . costes and charges which he shulde suysteyn by reason of his abydyng in the seid towne of Burdeux. And, gracious Lorde, your seid orator . . . in the saide towne of Burdeux the space of ij yeres and x wekys, the seid Gerom never sendyng to your seid orator . . . to retorne to Englonde ne yet the saide xx^{li} which he borowid of your seid oratour, by reason of which long abiding in the . . . your saide orator did not only susteyne greate costes and charges but also was taken as a presoner in the saide towen by reason of . . . countynued as presoner in the saide towen of Burdeux unto suche tyme as on Thomas Gittons of London did pay for your saide . . . sterling for a ransome. Which ^{li} your saide orator hath payde to the saide Gittons in London. . . .

*Grene refused to pay any of the costs or part of the ransom or even the £20 which he had borrowed from Osborne. He argued that there were many warships off the French coast lying in wait for English merchant ships. He had sent a special letter to Osborne, dated 13 January, 1523, that he dare not venture to send his ship across the sea, Osborne was to return to England and Grene would then pay his expenses. Osborne had replied in a letter from Bordeaux dated 1 February, from which it seemed that he was remaining in Bordeaux on his own business.*¹⁹

C 1/433/12-13.

104. BRISTOL MERCHANTS BUY SHIPS IN BORDEAUX, 1503.

*11 May, 1503, William Jefferies and a group of Bristol merchants bought from Martin de Reparasse of St. Jean de Luz the ship Bonaventure. The price of 198 angelots of gold at 20s. per angelot was to be paid 40 days after the arrival of the ship in the port of Bristol. The financial arrangements of various Bristol men appear in several pages of previous books.*²⁰

A.D.G. 3 E 12209, 11 May, 1503.

The Bonaventure was a ship of 130 tons and must have been satisfactory to her new owners as in 1506 William Jefferies ordered from Martin de Reparasse another ship, this time of 70 tons, plus or minus 5 tons. It was to be delivered to the port of Bordeaux with its rigging, 4 anchors, 4 cables, 12 pieces of artillery, the ship's boat and all things necessary to its navigation, by 1 March following. The price was to be 250 ducats of gold and 24 Bristol cloths, of which William

¹⁸ The MS. is torn.

¹⁹ See also C 1/551/3, C 1/551/66.

²⁰ A.D.G. 3 E 12203 B, 12208, 31 October, 1502 and 4 May, 1503.

Jefferies had promised to pay 120 ducats and 6 cloths at Whitsuntide following, and the rest when the ship was built. Jefferies also agreed to pay de Reparasse a wey of beans of 48 bushels. Jefferies and de Reparasse sign the contract.

A note dated the 17 November states that de Reparasse had received 20 ducats and one Bristol broad cloth.

A.D.G. 3 E 12214, 7 April, 1506.

(Bernard, II, 833-4).

105. THE PURCHASE OF A FRENCH SHIP IN BRISTOL, 1589.

Aujourd'hui, premier du mois de febvrier, mil v^c quatre vingts et neuf, après midy, en la ville et cyté de Bourdeaux, en présence de moy, Raymond Boysverd, notaire et tabellion royal en ladite ville et cyté et sénéschaucée de Guyenne, soubzsigné, et des tesmoings soubznommés, Nycollas Pelissonneau et Henry Jussan, mariniers demourans, ledit Pelissonneau en la paroisse de St. Martin de l'Aguille en la chastellanye de Mornac, et ledit Jussan en la paroisse St. Sulpice, chastellanye de Royan, le tout en Xaintonge, en leurs personnes, de leur franc vouloir, ledit Pelissonneau en aprouvant, allouant et ratifiant la vendicion et livraison par ledit Jussan et Mathurin Faure, aussy marinier de l'isle d'Arvert audit Xaintonge, ledit Jussan tant en son nom que comme procureur et ayant charge avec ledit Faure dudit Pelissonneau, faite à sire Thomas Holycomb, bourgeois et marchand du lieu de Bristo en Angleterre, de la barcque nommée *La Marie* de Chaillevete audit Xaintonge, du port de trente thonneaulx ou environ, avec la garniture et apareilz d'icelle en l'estat qu'ilz estoient lors d'icelle vendicion et livreson, qui fut au mois de septembre de ladite année, promesse faite par ledit Pelissonneau de ne contrevenir à icelle vendicion et livreson ains icelle vendicion entretenir et accomplir, ont prins, receu, comptés reallment sur ces présentes lesdits Pelissonneau et Jussan dudit Holycomb par les mains de Jehan Geanes . . .²¹ son serviteur à ce présent délivrant, stipullant et acceptant la somme de cinquante cinq escuz sol en . . .²² vingt doubles pistolletz d'Espaigne, dix doubles . . .²³, onze escuz d'or sol et le reste en quartz d'escu, le tout faisant ladite somme que lesdits Pelissonneau et Jussan ont compté, nombré et emporté en et pour tout reste et final payement de la somme de soixante six escuz deux tiers pour laquelle lesdits Jussan et Faure esdits noms auroient fait ladite vendicion et délivrance d'icelle barque, garniture et apareilz audit Holycomb au port dudit lieu de Bristo auquel ladite barque estoit pour lors . . .²⁴

A.D.G. 3 E 1726/38r. and v. 1 February, 1589.

²¹ *Blank in Ms.*

²² *A word has been erased in the MS.*

²³ *MS. not clear.*

²⁴ *On 1 November the White Lion of Bristol (owners, Thomas Holcombe and Thomas Hopkins) was recorded as having brought in a hulk of Sainctonge as a prize, B.M. Harleian MS. 598.*

106. VICTUALS FOR THE SHIP, 1502.

Early in 1502 an Irish merchant, Henry Day, was sailing towards Bordeaux when he met Denis Dwin²⁵ of Bridgwater off the coast of Brittany near Belle Isle, on his way back to England. Dwin begged the Irishman to let him have 1 C of cod, at 6 barrels the C, to victual the ship, promising to give him letters to a Bordeaux merchant who would repay him. The transfer of the cod completed, the ships continued on their way. When he reached Bordeaux, Henry Day gave the letters to his host, Jehan Heliot, one of the Bordeaux brokers, to present to the merchant, Jehanot Faure, son of a well-known Bordeaux merchant, Eyquem Faure. However, Jehanot Faure had left town and Henry was unable to obtain his money and he and Jehan Heliot went to the notary to register the debt.

A.D.G. 3 E 12206, 11 March, 1502.

107. THE ELIZABETH BONAVENTURE AT ST. JEAN DE LUZ, 1594.

By a charter party of 7 March, 1595, 1594, John Hopkins, owner of the Elizabeth of Bristol, Thomas Horrell master, and Thomas White, John Boulton, Arthur Hibbys and William Cole, merchants, agreed that the ship should sail from Hungroad to St. Jean de Luz and stay there for 6 hours to know the marchauntes pleasure whether it should discharge there or at La Rochelle, Bordeaux or Bayonne. If at St. Jean de Luz they should stay for 30 days from the day after the arrival of the ship, if at La Rochelle or Bayonne the same and if at Bordeaux 20 days. In any case, 10 tons of iron must be laden for the homeward voyage. The cargo was discharged at St. Jean de Luz and the iron shipped there. They had been there for 12 days when the ship was wrecked in the river there with a consequent loss to Hopkins of £500 for the ship and for freight charges.

Req. 2/223/95.

108. FRANCIS CODRINGTON AND THE JOHN THE BAPTIST OF BRISTOL, 1538.

John the Baptist of Bristol, 90 tons.

John Crocq, master.

James Tyson, purser.

Francis Codrington for himself

and on behalf of William and John Shipman and John Smythe, merchants of Bristol

26 t. 3 b. 1 tce. wine

6 C 6 balettes woad

from Bordeaux to the port of Bristol according to the charter party made between Codrington and the master and purser of the ship. Should the wine be consumed on the voyage or the woad deteriorate both parties agreed to submit the case to arbitrators.

A.D.G. 3 E 9816/22v. 29 April, 1538.

²⁵ Possibly Denis Down of Bridgwater, E 122/26/22, fo. 4v.

109. CODRINGTON BUYS SALT TO LOAD IN THE *JOHN THE BAPTIST*, 1538.

On 29 April, 1538, Francis Codrington, cape-merchant, and John Crocq, master, of the ship John the Baptist of Bristol registered with the notary an agreement made for the purchase of salt. Codrington had received from Michel Peycot, merchant and host of La Rochelle, a letter by which Jacques Michel, merchant of Marennes, promised to deliver 3 C of salt to the ship. This letter Codrington had left with Peycot for safety.

A.D.G. 3 E 9816/22r. 29 April, 1538.

110. THE *JESUS* OF BRISTOL LOADS SALT AT BROUAGE, 1505.

*Richard Savary, master.
Thomas Lambert, purser.*

*Hugh Eliott and William Thorne
for John Meysam of Bristol*

*7 C salt (Brouage measure 150 ton)
to be taken aboard at Brouage and carried to Hungrood in the port of Bristol and there delivered to John Shipman and Stephen Foster as agents of John Meysam. The freight charge of £60 to be paid 21 days after the arrival of the ship in the port of Bristol, £13. 6s. 8d. in money and the rest in salt.*

A.D.G. 3 E 12211, 22 March, 1505.

111. THE SHIP *KATHERINE* OF BRISTOL SOLD AT LA ROCHELLE, 1541.

To the Right Honourable and Ryght Singuler good Lord Russell, Lord Admyrall of England.

Humbly sheweth and compleynethe to your good Lordshippe your humble oratrice, Godelove, late the wyff of Robert Hobard, late of the towne of Brystowe, merchaunte, now deceessid, that where the same Robertt Hobard and other merchauntes of the seid towne in the monethe of Apryll last past fermed of oon William Chester and Edward Butler of the said towne a balinger of the burden of lx tonne or ther aboutes named the *Kateryn* of Brystowe, in the whyche shyppe the said Robert Hobard went a fysshying to the oute Iles of Scotland and toke with hym the more parte of his substaunce of goodes and lykewyse the substaunce of dyvers other merchauntes of the seid towne in adventure in dyvers kyndes of merchaundyse for the furnysshying of the said fysshying. So it was, honorable Lord, that the seid shyppe afterwarde being laden with fysshe, sayled to Rochell and there made sale of the same fysshe. And because the seid shyppe was olde and nott mete to brynge home the said company, the said Hobard, by vertue of the comyssyon of the seid William Chester and Edward Buttlr to hym gevyn, made sale of the seid shyppe at Rochell and with suche money as he dyd make of the fysshe that he browgth thether, as

well of his owne goodes as of the goodes of dyvers other merchauntes, bought a nother shyppe ther of the burden of Clx tonne. And by reason that the Frenche Kynge had made a restrayte of salte, the same shyppe cam to the porte of Brystowe with only balast and with non other ladynge. But sythens, the said William Chester and Edward Buttler, there now havynge the possessyon and governaunce of the seid shyppe, refuse to make payment and restitution to your seid oratrice and to the other merchauntes with whose money that the seide schyppe was bought, of suche money as was layd owt for the seid shippe over and besydes the profytt that cam of the said olde schyppe to th' expresse wrong of your seid oratrice. In tender consideracion of all whiche premysse, it may please your Lordshyppe to directe a commysyson to the Mayre of Bristowe, willyng hym by the same to electe and chose certayne indyfferent merchauntes ther to examyn the premysse and to call all the said parties before hym and to cause them to be bound to obey and performe all such order and direccyon as shall be taken by the seid Maire and indifferent persones, because that the matter is very tedyous to com before your Lordshyppe, and that it is there very well knowen. And this for the love of God and in the way of charite, and your said oratrice shall dayly pray to God for the preservation of your Lordshipe longe to endure.

H.C.A. 24/8/63.

112. THE KATHERYN OF BRISTOL.

Thomas Palmer and Thomas Young, owners of the Katheryn of Bristol, 65 tons, and Thomas Carter, master, with a crew of nine left Neath with a cargo of coal and some cloth called whites which they had bought in Plymouth, bound for La Rochelle. On the voyage they met a Breton ship of Barnard Barnard of Conquet who owed their master £100, due to be repaid some 2 years previously. When he offered to pay in wine and salt to the value of £22 they returned to St. Davids in Wales where he handed over the goods and some were sold. Barnard thought they had gone on to La Rochelle and began an action for the recovery of the wine and salt and they were all thrown into prison.

S.P. 1/246/15.

113. ANOTHER VOYAGE TO LA ROCHELLE FOR SALT, 1533.

John Gane, the younger, of Bristol appealed in the Chancery Court against the Mayor and Sheriffs of Bristol who had imprisoned him in Newgate for a debt of his partner, Richard Evans. He claimed that about 28 January, 1533, he and Evans freighted the Isabel of St. Pol de Leon in Brittany with various goods to be conveyed from the Quay at Bristol to Swansea and from there to La Rochelle, from there to Brouage and then to return to Swansea. Later it was agreed that they should return first to Bristol, Gane and Evans giving sureties for payment of their freight charges. Gane said that on arrival at Bristol

he had received his goods and had paid his freight charges and a debt of £12 10s. to the master. The Mayor had then committed him to Newgate without bail for the money Richard Evans still owed the master of the ship.

C 1/809/38.

114. BRISTOL SHIPS ATTACKED OFF LA ROCHELLE, 1539.

In the Spring of 1539 the Margaret of Bristol was laden in the port of La Rochelle with salt and other goods for the port of Bristol. They left in company with the Mathew of Bristol for safety, sailing with a favourable wind towards England. Spanish pirates were gathered on the high seas in great numbers and they were attacked by the Santa Maria of Deva. The pirates killed the master, Edward Grannell and William Flemming, one of the sailors, they stole and spoiled some of the cargo and stole an anchor, sails, cables and other equipment, with a total loss to Edward Butler, the owner, of £300. Butler claimed that the Santa Maria, changed to the Santa Maria of Fuenterrabia or Bilbao had come to the port of Bristol, where the leaders were imprisoned by the Mayor on the authority of the local Admiralty Court.

H.C.A. 24/6/58-61.

115. WILLIAM COLSTON IMPORTS SALT FROM LA ROCHELLE, 1583.

The owners of the ship, Barke Newton of London, complained that they had let or freighted their ship on the 6 September, 1583, by charter party, to William Colston and several merchants of Bristol. The ship was to sail from Bristol to certain ports in Spain and return to Bristol at 58s. 4d. for every ton returned to Bristol. The voyage completed, all the other merchants paid their full freight charges but Colston paid only £24 5s. 0d. of the £52 10s. 0d. owing.

The Answer of William Collstone to the bill of complaynte of Olyffe Master and John Newton, complaynants.

The saide defendant, savinge unto hymselffe all advantage of exception to the insuffitiensye of the saide bill, for answer thereunto he saithe, that as this defendante remembrethe, the said Olyffe Master, one of the complaynantes in the monthe of September in the bill mencioned did lett to frayghte the saide shipp called the *Barke Newtonn* unto this defendante and to one Richard Collstone, this defendants brother, and to one William Cole of Bristol, for a voyage to be made from the Ryver of Bristoll to certenn portes in the partes of Spayne and to retorne agayne unto Bristoll with suche merchantedyce as the saide William Collstone, Rychard Colstone and William Cole sholde lade or cause to be laden in the saide shippe, and to paye for every tonne frayghte to be returned unto Bristoll in the saide shipp the some of fyfthe and eyghte shillinges fower pence. And afterwarde the saide William Colstone, Richarde Colstone and

William Cole dyd accepte others named in the charter partye mencioned in the complaynantes bill to be parteners with them for the saide frayghte, whereuppon the charter partye mencioned in the complaynantes bill was made betwene the said Olyff Master and John Newtonn, the nowe complaynantes, and this defendante and suche others as are named in the saide charter partye, whereunto this defendante referrethe himselffe, to suche effecte and for suche voyage and pryyses (as this defendante remembrethe) as the saide complaynantes in theyre saide bill have declared. And this defendante further saythe that trewe yt is, as this defendante remembrethe, that hee dyd transporte from Spayne to Bristoll in the saide shipp called the *Barke Nutonn* the quantytye of eyghtene tonnes or there aboutes, beinge all in seckes, the frayghte wherof amounted to fyfthe twoe poundes and tenn shillinges or there aboutes. And this defendante dyd satisfye the saide Olyffe Master, one of the complaynantes, whose was the onely dealer in this busynes, savinge that he usedd the name of the saide John Newton with hym in the charter partye, uppon accompte and reconinges betwene the saide Olyff Master and this defendante the some of fower and twentye poundes and fyve shillinges or there aboutes, parcell of the saide some of fyfthe twoe poundes and tenn shillinges. But this defendante further saythe that this defendante having farther dealinges with the saide Olyffe Master, receaved accomptes from the aforesaide William Cole beinge then factor for this defendante beyonde the seas, that the saide William Cole hadd ladenn and delyvered unto the saide Olyffe Master at Rochell to be transported unto this defendante unto Bristoll in the saide shipp called the *Barke Nuton*, fyve hundred, one quarter and a halffe of Baye salte of St. Martynnes measure in Fraunce, which amounte the to the valewe of one hundred and fyve tonnes of salte or there aboutes. Of which salte the saide Olyff Master at his commynge to Bristoll delivered unto this defendante fowerscore and fower tonnes or there aboutes. Soe, as this defendante wantethe of his full coplemente accordinge to the accompte of his said factor and, as he thynkethe hee shall make verry good proffe unto this honorable Corte twentye and one tonnes of salte or there aboutes which amountethe to the some of twoe and fourtye poundes at forty shillinges the tonne as salte was then solde in Bristoll.

The complainant would neither supply the remainder of the salt nor pay Colston for it. Colston thought he had converted it to his own use and made a good profit. The removal of a merchant's seal from a charter party is not proof in law that freight charges have been paid.

Req. 2/245/26.

116. THE WILL OF A MERCHANT DEALING IN SALT, 1539.

The Will of John Shipman.

In the name of God, amen. The thirde day of August in the yere of our Lord God, a thousand fyve hundrethe xxxix yeres, and the xxxj yere of the reign of our soveraigne lorde King Henry the eight. I, John

Shipman of Bristowe, marchaunt, being hole of mynde and parfite remembraunce, thanks be to Almighty God, do make and ordeyn this my present testament conteynyng herein my last will of all my goodes, juelles, catalles, as well reales as personnelles, whersoever they be found within the realme of Englonde or elleswhere being or lying in the parties beyonde the see in maner and fourme folowing, that is to sey, first and above all thinges, I commende my soule unto Christ Jesu, my maker and redemer, in whom and by the merites of whose blessed passion is all my hole trust of clene remission and forgevenes of all my synnes, and my body to be buried within the parishe churche of Saint Werberos, within the towne of Bristowe yf I happen to dye within the said towne orelles within thre myles of the same. And if I happen to dye elleswhere at the pleasure of God, then my body to be buried at the discrecion of my executours, without any pompe or pride of the folly of this world. And my said burial to be doon after the discrecion of my executours and then Almighty God to be lawded and praised without any wayne glorie or pompe doon for the said body. Also I will that my executors shall cause to be gevyn unto poure housholders and to other poure people at the day of my burial x^{li} sterlinges and moreover twenty ponde sterling to be gevyn amonges poure people within the yere after my departinge there and according as my executours shall think most requisite to the lawde and praise of Almighty God. Moreover, I will by this present testament that my executours immediatly after my deceas or within a moneth next ensuyng shall distribute, deale and geve unto fourty pour men blak gownes and to fourtie poure women so many petycotes and more oon hundreth of sherttes and so many smockes to be gevyn to suche impotent, sick and aged parsons there and according as my executours shall think most necessary. Item, I geve and bequeth to the childern of Anne Rouley, my doughter, I say to every of them that shalbe alyve at my departing, forty poundes in salte, and the same to be valued at xxij^s iiij^d per ton and so the said some of forty poundes in salte as abovesaid to be delivered by my executours to every of them when they shall come to lauffull ages, that is to sey the men childern to receyve their parte in their age of xxj yeres and the women childern at their age of xvj yeres. And if it happen any of the said childern to deceas before they accomlishe their said age, then I will his parte or her parte so decessing to be gevyn and distributed to the relief and comforte of poure housholders and to sick and impotent parsones and also a porcion of the same to be gevyn towarde the making free of the yates of Bristoll, wherin my brother knowith my mynde. Item, I geve and bequeth unto Anne Rouley my doughter, yf she be alyve at my decesse, twenty poundes sterling, the which is full payment of a hundreth poundes that of late I gave unto William Rouley and Anne, my doughter, by a former testament, wherof the said William and Anne have receyved of me six tonne of oyle in foure score poundes sterling, soo that nowe I will the said twenty poundes be paid by myn executours unto the said Anne Rouley in certeyn parcelles of plate, and the same plate to be valued at v^s the

unce. Item, I geve and bequeth to the childern of Jone Artour, late departid, I say, to every of the said childer that shalbe alyve at my departing fourty poundes in salt, to be valued at xxij^s iiij^d the tonne, and so the said some of fourty poundes in salt as abovesaid to be delivered by myn executours to every of them when they shall come to their laful ages according with like clauses and condicion as is declared abovesaid for the use and behove of the childern of my doughter, Anne Roulley. Item, I geve and bequeth unto Alice Merlar, my doughter, yf she be alyve after my deceas, the some of a hundreth poundes and the same to be paid in salt valued at xxij^s iiij^d the tonne and more I geve and bequeth to the said Alice Merlar all my interest and terme yet to come, the whiche I have in a tenement lying in Horsse Strete, in the which Joane Widnam now dwelleth, the said Alice paying the rent for the same which I do now paye unto the Church of Redcliffe. Item, I geve and bequeth unto the childern of my doughter Cycille, late the wife of Rauf Leche, I say to every of her childern that shalbe alyve at my departing, the sum of fourty poundes in salt and the same salt to be valued at xxij^s iiij^d the tonne, and so the sum of fourty poundes in salt as is abovesaid to be paid and delivered by my executors to every of the said childern when the said childern shall com to their lawfull ages according with like clauses and like condicions as is abovesaid is declared for the behofe and use of the said childern of my doughter, Anne Roulley. Item, I geve and bequeth unto Agnes, my wife three hundreth poundes, that is to sey, the thirde parte of the sume abovesaid to be paid in plate and the same to be valued at fyve shillings the unce. The secunde parte of the same sume to be paid unto hir in ireron valued at twenty nobles the tonne, the third parte of the sum abovesaid to be paid to her in oyle valued at twenty markes the tonne. More, I geve and bequethe unto the said Agnes, my wife, thre silver pottes with a cover, in the which I do daily use to drynke all at my table and also twoo nuttes of silver parcell gilt the which I bought of my frende, Robert Abyntre, late of Bristowe, marchaunt. And more, I geve and bequeth unto my said wife my ship called the *Mary Christofer* and I will that she immediatly after my decesse shall enjoye the said shipp with almaner of apparell belonging unto her and to use the same as hir owne propre goodes. And more, I geve and bequeth unto my said wife the mesuage or house sett in Small Strete wherin now dwelleth Maister Drewes, to have and to holde all the said mesuage or house unto the forsaid Agnes, my wife, all the tyme during her widowhede, and as sone and when she shalbe assured or married to any other man that then I will that the said house or mesuage doo remayne unto my doughter Alice Merlar during her naturall lyfe and then after her deceas I will the said howse to remayne to the heires of Cicley Leche, late my doughter and for defaute of suche issue unto William Roulley and Anne his wife and to the heires of their bodies lafully begotten, and in defaute of suche issue to the heires of Joane Artor, my doughter, the wife of Thomas Artor, esquier. Moreover, I will by this my present testament and last will, that Agnes, my wif,

shall after my deceas contynue and dwell in the house wherin I nowe dwell all the tyme of hir widowhede, she paying the rent for the same, the which I nowe paye and assone and when she shall be assurid or maryed to any other parsonne that then I will that the said howse do remayne unto William Rowley and Anne, my doughter, his wife, and to the heires of their bodies lafully begotten, and in defaute of suche issue, to the heires of Thomas Artor, esquier, and Joane, my doughter, and in defaute of suche issue, to the heires of Rauf Liche and Cicely, my doughter, for evermore. Item, I geve and bequeth unto William Taylor, the sonne of Agnes, my wife, tenne poundes sterling to be paid and delivered in salt at xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. Item, I geve and bequethe unto other thre childern of my said wife, to every of them fyve poundes to be paid in salt at xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. Item, I geve and bequeth unto John Wynter, my kynnesman for the trewe and faithfull service that he hath don unto me, threscore poundes to be paid in salt at xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. And also to the children of the said John threscore and fyve poundes to be paid to them in salte after the rate of xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. Item, I geve and bequethe unto Thomas Smyth hopper, my kynnesman, twoo poundes to be paid in salte at xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. Item, to Fraunces Codrington and Margaret, his wife, my cousin, fourty poundes to be paid in salte at xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. Item, I geve and bequeth unto John Shipman and Thomas Shipman, his brother, my nevewes, to every of theym tenne poundes, the same to be paid in salte after the rate abovesaid. Item, I geve and bequeth unto John Snyge of Bristowe, marchaunt, six poundes xij^s iiij^d, the same to be paid in salte at xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. Item, to Stevyn Cole fyve markes to be paid likewise in salt as abovesaid. Item, to Edward Jones, marchaunt, fyve markes to be paid likewise in salt as is abovesaid. Item, to my kynnesfolkes dwelling in the Forest of Deane tenne poundes sterling to be devided and reparted amonges them there as shalbe thought moost necessary according to my brother his discrecion. Item, I geve and bequethe to my tockers, wevers and shermen beyond Haven tenne poundes sterling, the same to be devided and reparted amonges them according as my brother therin knowith my mynde and the same to be paid in salte after the rate of xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne. I geve to Joane Pingk, widowe, if she be alyve at my departing, fyve markes to be paid in salte as abovesaid. Item, I geve and bequethe unto my servaunts, the which shalbe aboute me at my decesse, sixtene pounds to be devided and reparted amonges them according to the discrecion of my brother, William Shipman. and more, I will desire my brother, William Shipman to fynde my wife and sarvauntes mete and drynke and other necessarye fare convenient for their degree in houshold together by the space of oon yere after my deceas, in the house where I nowe dwell in, yf my servauntes will take it. And that my wife hir legacies be paid unto hir within six monthis after my deceas. And also I will that my said wife shall have the custodie and keping of all suche legacies as I have geven and bequethed to hir childern abovesaid. Item, I geve and bequeth unto my brother, William Shipman, a bassen and a ewer of

silver, the which he hath nowe in his power and fourtye poundes in salte to be valued at xxiijs^s iiij^d the tonne, to have the same as his owne propre goodes . . .

Francis Codrington was to be the executor and William Shipman, David Broke, Thomas White and John Winter were to be overseers. Debts were to be paid, the residue of the estate was to go to William to dispose as God shall putt into his mynde. Probate was granted in 1543.

P.C.C. 21 Spert.

117. SMUGGLING FOOD TO LA ROCHELLE DURING THE FRENCH WARS.

1572, Richard Strowbridge, merchant of Bristol, was accused of sending 30 tons of wheat to La Rochelle from Chichester in the Trinity of the Mumbles on a coastal cocket allowing him to carry 60 qr. to Swansea. The ship's master said that they were sailing from Chichester to Swansea on the 24 October, 1572, and were off Sandwich in Kent when a terrible storm arose and all on board feared for their lives so they put into La Rochelle in France against their will and intention.

E 159/376 Easter 229.

1592, John Higgins, owner of the Hopewell and merchant of Bristol, was accused by John Batt of exporting since the previous December to La Rochelle in France 60 kilderkins of butter, each worth 30s., 300 dozens of calfskins and 10 dicker of tanned leather, uncustomed and without a licence.

E 159/402 Easter 21.

118. A LICENCE TO EXPORT TO LA ROCHELLE, 1588.

In December, 1587, Henry of Navarre wrote to the Queen asking for merchants to be allowed to sail to La Rochelle, Pourre que la ville de La Rochelle a besoing de certains vivres et munitions de guerre . . .

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 53/31.

29 January, 1588. A note of all such passports as my Lord Tresorer hath signed since my Lord Admiral his goinge to the Seas . . .

A pasporte for James Young, for the James Bonaventure of Bristol to goe from Chester to Rochell and to retourne for Bristoll.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 55/20.

119. TRADE WITH BRITTANY AND NORMANDY.

1522, Antony Budgegood seized from Maurice Bocher in February at Bristol 4 packets of canvas and lokerams, value £10, until scavage had been paid. The Bristol sheriff, Robert Eliott was called to account, since taking scavage from a native merchant was illegal.

E 159/301 Mich. 18r and 22v.²⁶

²⁶ Also see B.A.O. 04721 ff. 38-9, 43, Sta. Cha. 2/31/118, Veale (ed.), G.R.B. iii. 168-70, iv, 13-17, 20.

1531, *Thomas Yatman, deputy of John Westowe, searcher in the port of Bristol, seized on the 9 August, $\frac{1}{2}$ piece cloth coloured violet, 6 doz. kerseys of various colours, 2 half cloths called northern russets, goods of a Breton merchant unknown.*

E 159/310 Mich. 87 v.

1532, *William Hasylden, clothworker of London, reported that on the 7 May John Gaunter, alien merchant, in the Fraunces of St. Briac had landed at the port of Bristol 1,000 ells of canvas uncustomed which was placed in the store house or warehouse of a merchant of the town. The Mayor of Bristol and the customers were called to account and they claimed that Thomas Yatman had already seized a quantity of Breton canvas of various kinds from Gaunter.*

E 159/311 Trin. 4r and 5v.

1546, *Antony Stanbank, waiter in the port of Bristol, on 16 September, seized 60 ells of Breton cloth, the goods of Henry Petron, alien, landed uncustomed.*

E 159/325 Mich. 17r.

1568, *John Fyeld and William Milles, waiters in the port of Bristol, seized on the 10 March, in a ship at Hungrood, 4 pieces of linen cloth called blechy clothe,²⁷ value £6 13s. 4d. goods of a merchant unknown, landed uncustomed.*

E 159/356 Easter 22r.

1568, *William Goslate seized on the 28 July, from the Mary of Fécamp at Hungrood, 84 kerseys and 18 broad cloths laden for export uncustomed by merchants unknown.*

E 159/357 Mich. 7r and v.

120. BRISTOL MEN IN BRITTANY, 1596.²⁸

That whereas one George West of Bristoll aforesaide about two yeres now last past, intending a voyadge from Bristoll aforesaide unto the towne of Brest in France for the transporting and marchandizeinge of diverse wares and goodes of the said George West to the value of five hundred poundes and upwardes, requested your suppliant, in respect of his experience and acquaintance in those partes beyond the seas and especiallie in the saide towne of Brest where the saide George West before that time hadd never byn, and forasmuch alsoe as the saide George West was att that time greatlie indebted unto diverse persons and therefore was the more unwilling to make a voyadge in his owne name, that your Highnes saide suppliant would undertake the saide voyadge with the saide George West for his better assistance and helpe in the utteringe and marchandizeinge of his saide wares and goodes . . .

²⁷ Bleached cloth was a white Breton canvas.

²⁸ See also S.P. 12/270/88, S.P. 12/262/7, H.M.C. Salisbury MS. ix. 329-30.

Whereuppon your said suppliant agreeing thereunto and the saide voyage being accomplished to the saide towne of Brest and your said suppliant and the saide George West being there safelie arrived with their saide wares and marchandize and findeing the sale for their saide wares and marchandize nott to be so good in that place as they expected itt would or mought have byn, your Highness saide suppliant and the saide George West thereuppon agreed to goe from thence to Burneesse in France with the goodes and marchandize, or the greatest parte thereof then unsold. In which voyage it was agreed betweene the saide West and your saide suppliant that your suppliant should beare halfe the adventure of the seas towching the goodes of the saide West, beinge then of the value of or about 500^{li} and that the saide West should beare the like adventure for the goodes of your suppliant, being of the value of C^{vi}^{li} or thereabouts and then unsould and that att the comeing home to Bristoll of the saide comodities, wares and marchandize so agreed uppon, each of the saide parties should have the one halfe of the profittes then comeing, or after to be made of the sales and ymploymentes of the others goodes. Whereuppon the saide voyage to Burneesse beinge performed and diverse wares and comodities beinge sent from the saide places of Burneesse and Brest by your suppliant and the said George West, beinge of greate value, to be carried and convayed to Bristoll aforesaide and to be there unshippede, where the same shortlie afterward were safelie arived and amongst which your suppliant had of his own proper goodes twentie peeces of dowles cloth of the value of CC^{li} and fiteene toons of Bay salt of the value of threescore and tenne poundes, besides dyvers of the goodes of the saide George West to the value of or about tenne poundes, out of which your suppliant was to have the one halfe of the profittes . . .

John Rudding also had charge of the goods of Thomas Ward and Thomas Jewell to the value of £140. On the arrival of the ship in Bristol, in January, 1597, Robert and John West, brothers of George, arrested the whole cargo including the goods belonging to Rudding and the other merchants, on the plea that their brother owed them money.

Req. 2/38/32.

121. BENEDICT WEBBE IN BREST, 1594.

Benedict Webbe of Kingswood, then in Wiltshire, clothier, borrowed £200 from William Spicer of Exeter to be repaid at Brest at an exchange rate of 5s. 8d. the French crown. It was a condition of the bond that if Webbe should break any of the conditions of the bills of exchange he should pay at the return of the ship Samaritan of Dartmouth the remainder of the loan at 6s. 8d. the crown. In November, 1593, he was at his house at Kingswood, 80 miles from Dartmouth, when his brother, Nicholas, sent from Exeter to tell him of the Samaritan's return. He wrote a letter for his brother to give to

*Spicer pleading that the market was so bad that he could not immediately pay and promising to pay at St. Paul's fair in Bristol. Webb gathered the amount needed, £62. 8s. 0d. at 6s. 8d. the crown, not paid at Brest, but first he offered to sell Spicer some land and at first Spicer agreed but later began an action for debt on the forfeit bond.*²⁹

Req. 2/61/95.

122. BRETON AND NORMAN GOODS BROUGHT BY MEN OF SALISBURY, 1536.

To the Right Honorable, Sir Thomas Audley, Knight, Lord Chauncellor of England.

In moost humble wise sheweth unto your good Lordshippe your dayly oratour, William Williams of the cyte of Newe Salisbury in the counte of Wiltshire, draper, that wher your said oratour in the Fest of Saynt James the Appostell, the xxvijth yere of the reyn of our sovereyn lord Kyng Henry the viijth, at the towne of Brystawe, emonge other goodes and catelles of your seyd oratours delyveryd unto the handes and possession of one William Nele of the saide towne of Bristowe, then and yet beyng keper of the comen hall in Brystowe forsaid, callyd Back Hall, two fardelles and halfe of canvase of the goodes and catelles of your sayde oratour, of the value of sixe poundes the fardell, amountyng to the hoole xv^{li} sterling, to th'entente that the sayd William Nele should sell the same canvase emonge other thynges for vj^{li} the fardell and to paye your sayd orator for the same immedyatly upon the sale therof or elles to redelyver the same canvase ageyn to your sayd oratour at such tyme as he should be therunto by your sayd oratour requyred. Whiche to doo the sayd William Nele for certen causes and concideracions between hym and your sayd oratour agreid, faythfully convenaunted, graunted and promysed . . .

Nele refused even to tell Williams whether he had sold the canvas and would neither pay him the money nor return the goods.

C 1/924/43.

123. FROM THE SHOP BOOK OF WILLIAM APPOWELL, 1558.

fo. 38.

Paymenttes payd by the handes of my Master in anno 1558 and in the yere of Master Pepwell being mayer.

Payd the xxviij of Juuly unto Master Webe
servaunt of Sarum for j fardel and a hallfe of
canvas at x^{li} the fardell, amontith to
more payd the same day unto Master Webe
servaunt for iiij casses of glasse at xxxiijs iiij^d per
casse, amontith to
more payd unto Master Eyre of Sarum for sarten
glasse

xv^{li}

vj^{li} xiijs iiij^d

vii^{li}

From B.A.O. DC/A/6/3/38.

²⁹ E. Moir, "Benedict Webb, Clothier", Ec. H.R. 2nd ser. x (1957-8), 256-64.

124. THE EFFECTS OF WAR AND PIRACY, 1587.

A noote of shippmen of Bristoll spoyled and robed by Frenchemen since anno 1576.

In primis, the *Ragged Staffe* of Bristoll robed of her goodes, her master and his mate killed by Monseur Lansack, anno 1574³⁰

0500^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Fackon* of Bristoll bownd to the Ilandes robed by Frenchmen for her valewe of too thousand pound³⁰

2000^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *John* of Bristoll robbed and tacken by Landeren comeinge from Lucar³¹ of the valew of

3000^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Grayhound* of Bristoll tacken by Frenchemen att the Iland of St. Mighell, ship and goodes

2000^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Speedwell* of Bristoll spoyled comeinge from the Canaries . . .³² by Nippavilla to the valewe

0800^{li} 00^s 0^d

John Porter robed by the Frenchmen bownd to St. John de Luz, anno 74, to the valewe

0800^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Trenetie* of Bristoll robbed comeinge from Rochell to Bristol by Capten Gillam, the valewe

0300^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Grayhownd* of Bristoll robed bownd to Bayon and spoyled to her valewe of a thowsand pownd

1000^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Grasshopper* of Bristoll bownd to Biskie was robbed to the vallewe of ^{vc} li

0500^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Fox* of Bristoll bownd to the Islandes robbed by Monser Lansackes shipp, captan Monser Bontamps, to the valewe

2000^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Vallantine* tacken att Sherant by the shippes of St. Malos, lost shipp and goodes to the valewe of

2000^{li} 00^s 0^d

The *Littell Minion* of Bristoll comeinge from Argell robbed by the Capten of Brestes shipp to the valewe of

1500^{li} 00^s 0^d

16600^{li} 00^s 0^d

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 148/50.

125. A PROPOSED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO FRANCE, 1579.

It maye please the most honorable to understand the occasions of great dysordres in the trade of merchandise with Fraunce, bothe in wynes and other commodities with the meanes of the reformation therof.

The tyme was within our memory when a few Englyshe marchauntes trading to Burdeaulx and other partes of the dominion of

³⁰ The first two items are crossed through.

³¹ The MS. is not clear, probably San Lucar de Barrameda.

³² MS. not clear. See also S.P. 12/119/48.

Fraunce for wyne and other thinges and lykewise to Rouane and other partes for canvas and other comodities dyd, by assent and by mutuall foresight among themselves, agree upon certen orders to be observed among them for the dyscreete byeng of the commodityes of that countrey and for ther dooinges towching the same to the most benyfyt of the realme of England.

The petitions of the Mere Merchauntes trading the Countreys of Fraunce.

That they maye be incorporated by the name of Provost, Assystentes and Fellowship of Englyshe Marchauntes trading France, in which Corporacion all marchantes which usually and commonly traded in to France in or before the yere of our Lorde God 1570 and lyving in anno 70, ther children and apprentices, which they then had or synce to be comprehended with all circumstances belonging to a Corporacion.

The proposed company would have power to hold assemblies or courts anywhere in England or in France and to make its own acts or rules, enforcing them by the punishment of offenders. It would be able to tax goods carried to or from France and it would exclude all whose activities included retail sales. The Provost and Assistants would appoint Deputies in provincial towns.

S.P. 12/129/50-1.

126. THE BRISTOL MERCHANTS ARE ASKED TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSED FRENCH COMPANY, 1600 AND 1605.

9 December, 1600.

Master John Barker, Master Matthew Haveland, Master Roberte Aldworth, Master Abell Kytchen, Master John Roberowe, Master George Whyte, Committees to consider of and to sette downe their reasons in answer of the Articles preferred to the Lordes of the Counsell for the Incaporacion of the Merchauntes trading into Fraunce and to bringe the same to Master Mayor with all convenient speede.

B.A.O. 04264(1)42.

9 August, 1605.

Master Francys Knighte, Master John Webbe, Master William Ellys and Master John Hopkins, Aldermen; Master Richard Smythe, Master Roberte Aldeworthe, Master Eglisfelde and Master Abel Kytchen are appoynted to conferre with the rest of the merchauntes and citizens of Bristoll tomorrowe nexte in the afternoone and to sette downe their opynyons in wrytinge what answere they shall thinck fytt to be made, as well to the lettres of the Right Honorable, the Lorde Highe Tresorer of Englande touchinge the trade into Venice and Turkey, as to the lettres from the Frenche merchauntes of London concerninge the Incorporacion of the trade into Fraunce and that the said Comyttees doe fourthwith delyver their opynions therein to Master Mayor, that answere may be made to the said severall lettres accordinglie.

B.A.O. 04264(1)99.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOUTHERN TRADES

127. SPANISH MERCHANTS IN BRISTOL, 1526.

To the moost reverend Father in God, the Lord Thomas, Legat de Latere, Cardynall Archebushop of Yorke and Chaunceller of Englund.

In there most humble wys shewen to your noble grace your dayly orators Peter de Arquenyo and Peter Salzedo, marchauntes of Spayne, that where your seid orators were possessed of and in lxi bales of wodde callid Tolowze wodde as of there owne propre goodes and so possessed, abowt the syxt day of Novembre, the xvij yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viijth at Rentyrar in Guypusguer, in the parties of Spayne forseid, bargayned and sold all the seid lxi bales of wodde to on Henry Whyte and Thomas White merchauntes of Coventre for the some of eight hundred dukkettes, to be to them payed at certeyn dayes betwene them agreed and the seid Peter de Arquenyo, your orator, bound hymself to bere the adventure of the same wodde from Rentyres forseid to the port of Brystowe in this realme of Englund and theruppon your seid orator, Peter de Arquenyo, entyndyng to have conveyed the same wodde to the seid port accordyng to his covenant and promyse therof made, caused the same wodde to be shipped and the same shippe then shortly after, that is to sey abowt the xij day of Aprell, the yere aforeseid arryved saffely with the same wodde in the seid portt of Bristoll and came into the havon there. So hit was, moost graceous Lord, that at suche tyme as your seid orator, Peter de Arquenyo, intended to have delyvered the same wodde to the seid Henry White and Thomas White, one John Wynter, merchaunt of Bristoll forseid, of his covetous mynd and greate malyce, entyndyng wrongfully to have depryved your seid orators of the same wodde untruly surmytted that the same wodde ware the propre goodes of oon San John de Arquenyo, merchaunt of Bylbowe and that the seid San Jon had nott accomplysshed certeyn bargaynes which the seid San John de Arquenyo hadd made with the seid John Wynter in Spayne and theruppon the xx day of Aprell forseid the seid John Wynter affermed a playnt before the Mayre of Bristoll forseid and other his felowes in the Court of Admyralte of Bristoll forseid ayenst the seid San John de Arquenyo and caused all the seid wodde there to be arrested as the goodes of the seid San John de Arquenyo in answeere to the seid playnt.

Peter who went into the Court to claim the woad was also arrested because the Mayor favoured Wynter, a burgess of Bristol. The date for the hearing was fixed for June, too soon for him to gather his witnesses, some of whom were in Spain, some in Chester and some in London. He offered to pay their expenses but could not compel them to come. Meanwhile, Thomas White bought the woad from the Admiralty Court and would not pay the 800 ducats he owed to Peter.

C 1/462/42.

128. MORE FOREIGN SHIPS SEIZED BY THE BRISTOL ADMIRALTY COURT, 1526.

Francis de Frankes, owner of the ship Trinity of Motrico, and Christopher Capachio, owner of the ship Sancta Maria of Rome, complained that their ships, each worth £400 or more, had been seized in Bristol. They had themselves been detained, though they had offered sureties, so that they had been unable to trade and had lost all their profits. They complained that their merchant passengers could not afford these long delays in Bristol.

C 1/509/37.

129. AN INTERPRETER FOR THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN BRISTOL, 1557.

John Simons, a servant of the Queen and one of the interpreters of the Spanish language, had spent most of his time in Bristol where he had been born. He was at this date about 33 years old and giving evidence in a case in the High Court of Admiralty in London.

H.C.A. 13/11/211v.

130. SPANISH SHIPS AND GOODS IN THE PORT OF BRISTOL.

1514 25 tanned ox hides were seized on the Mary of Fuenterrabia having been laden for export uncustomed.

E 159/293 Easter 8v.

1545 Edward Stanbanke reported that on the 9 April, 1545, Thomas Shipman had laden in two pickards, John Dee and John Coke masters, at Berkeley, 32 dickers of tanned leather and 60 dozens of calf skins and taken them to Kingroad for loading into a Spanish ship for export uncustomed.

E 159/324 Mich. 9r.

1550 John Bonham and John Barwyke were accused of omitting from their return of Customs and Subsidy in the port of Bristol, 1548-9, the export by Robert Newborne of Bristol of a consignment of leather in the Lyon of Bristol. Newborne pleaded that he had entered the leather in the customs house during the previous March, but when he came to load it in the Jesus of San Sebastian the ship was fully laden and he had to wait for the Lyon. He had reported the matter in the customs house.

E 159/329 Easter 13r, v and seq.

1558 On the 19 September John Martyn of London seized the Saviour of Renteria at Hungroad because in the previous May she had shipped 400 qr. of corn for export to Spain uncustomed and without a licence. The ship was valued in Bristol at £102, though Martyn's servant valued it at £200. John Surrey and officials of King Philip gave evidence that the corn was shipped to Spain to be unloaded at Pasajes for the King's army in Biscay.

E 159/339 Mich. 27r. v. and seq.

1559 On the 10 July, William Goslate seized 6 dozen Spanish felt hats, the goods of a merchant unknown, imported uncustomed and without a licence.

E 159/341 Mich. 11r.

1559 On the 1 December, William Goslate seized 11 pieces of raisins, the goods of a merchant unknown.

E 159/341 Hil. 32v.

1576 On the 27 September, William Goslate seized 1 red short cloth which was later claimed by William Gittons who said that it was for export to Spain in the Nightingale of Bristol and that he had already paid Thomas Dickonson, one of the collectors of customs in Bristol.

E 159/371 Mich. 10r and v.

1596 Thomas Slade, servant of William Colston, reported that William Edwards had in the previous May seized at Shirehampton from a trow 5 bags of Spanish wool, the goods of a merchant unknown.

E 159/411 Trin. 5r.

131. A SALE OF LAMP OIL.¹

Thomas Hooper, a former resident and merchant of Bristol, complained that he had bought of a merchant of Renteria 7 tons of lamp oil at £4. 18s. 0d. the ton. Thomas Smythe, cooper, and John Hughes, fishmonger, also wished to buy the oil and offered Hooper 1 ton of oil or its price in ready money. Then they took the whole 7 tons, which they sold for £10. 13s. 4d. and gave Hooper neither the money nor the ton of oil.

C 1/810/52.

132. SETTING UP A PARTNERSHIP FOR TRADE TO NORTHERN SPAIN.

the 15 of August 1544.

Memorandum, that all Bargayns and Aventures conteyned in this booke be for the Accowmpt of cumpany betwene my brother Robert

¹ This may have been fish oil of some kind.

Tyndal . . .² and me and we did enter in to the said Cumpany the day and yere above writon, at which tyme we put in to the said Cumpany all the parcelles writon on the other . . . of this leafe, and more xxxiiij dozons of white kersey which wer boght of John Holand of Barstable and cost with all charges aboard xxiiij^{li} xix^s x^d. Which kerseys shuld have ben laden aboard the shippes over the other side and be chaunce wer left behynd at Coome and after ladon aboard the *Sancta Maria* of the Rendry, Frances de Subieta master. So amonth the hole summe which was put in Cumpanye at the begynnnyng 196^{li} 2^s 2^d.

And for plane declaracion how mych goth for myn accowmpt and how mych for my brothers, my Brother must have in the said Cumpany as appeareth in myn old booke for the nete persidew of viij ton 1 pipe 1 hogshead S.S. iren received out of the *Saynt John* of the Rendry, John de Beroby master, and 60 kintals rozen . . . pitche in the same shippe and for the nete persedew of 50 kintals rozen and pitche received out of John Nott de Villa Viciosa and for the nete persedew of ix hogsheads wyne received out of the *John* of the Rendry, Michell de Aresavalo master, and 2^{li} 16^s which I owte hym for the reste of accowmpt gyven me the 27 day of June 1544 and 2^s received for . . . of his and 3^s 4^d which I owe in the Chaunge of Accowmpt and for iij . . . Rendry iren received out of the *Sancta Maria*, Frances de Subieta master, for iren sold for 16^s 6^d and also for that he paid to Thomas Machyn for xj dosenz calve skynnes savyng that he . . . alow me for certen money paid to Master Balard and . . . for hym and for costes of certon kerseys of his at Barstable . . . for all freyght, custumm and other costes of the iren, rosyn . . . and wyne, and all the rest which is . . . in the . . . must go for myne accowmpt.

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 187r.

133. ACCOUNTS OF THE COMPANY TRADING TO SPAIN.

1544

the 12 of August

Aventure for accowmpt of Cumpany between my brother Robert Tyndale & me owth 35^{li} 12^s & is for xvj dicker of hides cow & steare ladon for Biskey in Dego de la Rua his barke & the *Saynt John* of the Rendre the 28 day of May last the which my brother & I did concert this day that they shuld goe for accowmpt of cumpany & cost clere aboard

xxxv^{li} xij^s

more the same day for 37 dosenz white kersey ladon aboard the *Saynt John* of the Rendre, Michell de Arisavalo master, marked with my marke which cost clere aboard with custom & all charges

xxviiij^{li} xviiij^s ij^d

² *The MS. is badly worn.*

more the same day for xvj dicker hides cow & steare
marked with my punce & ladon aboard the same
shippe & cost clere aboard with custom & other
charges, amonthith

xxx^{li} xij^s x^d

more the same day for xj dicker di. tanned hides
cow & steare boght of John Grove of Longford &
laden aboard the same shippe marked with my
punce & cost the first penny

xxiiij^{li}

more for xiiij dicker cow & steare boght of Machen
of Barkley which cost the first penny delivered
in Kyngrode aboard the *John* of the Rendry, John
de Beroby master, the same day, amonthith

xxviiij^{li} iiij^s iiiij^d

more for vj dicker ox hides & xij dovenz of calve
skyns boght of Machyn & laden aboard the seyd
shippe in Kyngrode marked with my punce &
cost the first penny

xxj^{li} vj^s

Itm. more for that I gave to William Hill & Giles
Dane³ for ther gentlenes shewed in the ladyng of
the seid lether

iiij^{li} x^s

Itm. more 6^s 8^d & is for the bryngyng downe the
lether from Barkley, amonthith

vj^s viij^d

B.A.O. P.St. J.B./Misc. 187v.

134. ACCOUNTS OF THE COMPANY TRADING TO SPAIN.

the 9 of September 1545

Aventure oweth 8^{li} & is for 21 dozens calve
skynes and v kippes laden aboard the *Sancta
Maria* of the Rendry, Johannes de Clara master,
the same day under the marke in the margent,
amonthith cost clere aboard & wer consynged to
my brother & in his absens to Robert Taler with
Domyngo de Chavys, amonthith

viiij^{li}

the 12 of Septembre

Received of Richard Gibbis of Strowdwater for a
ton $\frac{1}{2}$ C iren of Fowntrabie after 6^{li} 5^s per ton

vj^{li} viij^s

the same day

paid to Thomas Castell for halyng the iren &
woode which cam in the *Sancta Maria* & the
Salvador

vj^s x^d

the 22 of September

Received of Thomas Taler for a pipe of iren of
Fowntrabie, amonthith

iiij^{li}

³ Customs officers at Bristol.



the last of September

William Ryce tucker, clothier, for a ton & more
v li. Rendry iron 6^{li} 3^s 4^d, wherof rest in hand
3^{li} 3^s 4^d rest which Thomas Hares merchant must
pay me at Christmas next as appereth by his bill
ij^{li}, amontith the hole
received in hand 3^{li} 3^s 4^d, more received of
Thomas Hares, 11 January 3^{li}
paid to ij laborers for bearyng in ix ton iren which
I received out of the *Nicholas* of Oreo & the *Seynt*
John of the Rendry & weyng & pilyng it

v^{li} ij^s iij^d

j^s x^d

the first of October

Edmond Reve tucker owith for a pipe of Rendry
iren 3^{li} 3^s 4^d to pay 30^s in hand & the rest at
Candilmas next, sewerty Thomas Harys
merchant
received in hand xxx^s, received more xxx^s of
Thomas Hares & 3^s 4^d & so even

ij^{li} ij^s iij^d

the 11 of October

Howell Aprichard baker owith for a hogshead &
more iij li. iren of Fowntrabie after 6^{li} 6^s 8^d per
ton to pay at the begynnyng of Aprell next,
amontith
received for the ij^d 4 received the 12 of June, 1546
31^s 08^d

j^{li} x^j^s x^d

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 189r

135. ACCOUNTS OF THE COMPANY TRADING TO SPAIN.

the 13 of October 1545

paid unto Domyngo de Segura for the fret of ix ton
iren which I received out of the *Nicholes* of Oreo,
amontith
Itm. for the averis at 8^d per ton, amontith
Itm. for the frett of 6 bales canvas & iij bales
paper received for our accompt out of the seid
shippe, amontith

ix^{li}

v^j^s

xii^j^s iij^d

the same day

Received out of the *Nicholes* of Oreo for
accompt of cumpany betwene my brother & me
1359 alnes & iij quarters canvas, more out of the
same shippe for the said accowmpt iij bales paper
more for the same accompt in the seid shippe ix ton
iren of Fowntrabie which made in to my howse
ix ton vj C iij qr. iij li.

⁴ received for the ij^d is crossed through.

the 17 of October 1545

Richard Baron of Hanley in the Countie of
Wurseter owith 3^{li} & is for a pipe of iren of
Fowntrabie to be paid with in one monethe
received the 21 of Novembre of William Baron
xl^s more my wife received xx^s

iiij^d

the same day

Received for vij ton 1 pipe 1 di. ix li. iren of S.S. &
Fowntrabye together sold to Edward Rodney in
trucke of ledde after 6^{li} 13^s 4^d per ton,
amontith

li iijs xjd

Itm. for vij ton pipe ij C di. xiiij li. iren
of Fowntrabie & the Rendry together sold to the
said Edward in trucke of ledde after 6^{li} 6^s 8^d
per ton, amontith

xlviij^d vjs viij^d

paid to ij laborers to helpe to wey the same
iren & to pile the rest of the iren which I
received out of Domyngo de Segurra & John de
Beroby, amontith

js xjd

the same day

paid to John de Beroby for iiij ton & j kintale
of iren of the Rendry which I boght of hym at the
Backe Halle after 5^{li} 16^s 8^d per ton the
waight of Spayne, amontith

xviij^d xvijs ix^d

the same day

Received for 1354 alnes & iiij quarters canvas sold
at dyverse prysez as appeareth in my leather
booke, amontith
Wherof geven to Master Salle 18 elles at 6^d per
elle for his gentilnes showed at all tymes
amontith

xxxiiij^d viijs ijd

ix^s

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 189v.

136. THE PURCHASE OF DEVONSHIRE KERSEYS.⁵

Memorandum that the above named Jem Says
rescevid off Thomas Toker the son of Edwarde
Toker off Tyverton in kerseys at the feist off the
Nativitee off Our Lady 1540 as muche as
mountithe to

iiij^d

Itm. in the yere off Our Lorde God 1541 a
whiet piece

xvijs

Itm. the same tyme a blacke piece

xijs

⁵ This fragment was found among the Tyndall papers.

Remaynithe to pay off olde

xxx^s

Itm. the seide Jem rescevid at the feist off

the Annunciacion off Our Lady anno domini 1541

off Mathew Toker v blacke kersseys rest to pay

xxvj^s viij^d

Summa vij^{li} v^s viij^d

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 114

137. WILLIAM TYNDALL SMUGGLING AND HIS SHIP SEIZED, 1558.

William Harvest, merchant of Bristol, reported in the Exchequer Court that William Tyndall, owner of the ship Margaret, on 1 December, 1557, shipped 30 qr. wheat at 10s. a qr. and 7 barrels of butter at 40s. a barrel for export uncustomed and without a licence. Knowing this, Harvest seized the ship on 4 August, 1558, and left it with all its tackle in the hands of George Snygge, merchant, for safe-keeping.

The Margaret was valued by a shipwright and several merchants at only £42. She had 3 masts and a small anchor but no other tackle on board. By this time William was dead and Robert, his brother appeared as one of the executors, denying that his brother was guilty of smuggling or that the ship was forfeit.⁶

E 159/339 Mich. 38r.

138. A SPANISH CHARTER PARTY FOR ROBERT TYNDALL'S SHIP CAESAR, 1558.

En la noble e leal villa de San Sebastian a veinte e . . .⁷ dias del mes de mayo ano del nacimiento de nuestro senor Jesus Cristo de mil e quinientos e cincuenta e ocho anos, en presencia de mi Domingo de Alcega, escribano de la real majestad e publico del numero de la dicha villa e testigos de yuso escritos, parecieron presentes de la una parte Roberto Tindale, mercader vecino de la dicha villa y de la otra Joan Sandres, maestre de la nao nombrada Cesar que esta surta en el puerto e concha de la dicha villa, e ambas las dichas partes de conformidad otorgaron esta escritura en la forma y manera siguiente.

Primeramente, el dicho Joan Sandres maestre dijo e confeso que

⁶ See also p. 46, *Robert secured the return of the Margaret and all her tackle, B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 188r.*

⁷ Blank in MS.

tenia recibidos del dicho Roberto Tindale y cargados dentro de la dicha nao *Cesar* debajo cubierto, tres toneles de miel e diez e siete toneles de fierros e sesenta e tres toneles de vinos e otras mercaderias que parece por los conocimientos de cargazon que en la dicha razon tenia dados al dicho Roberto para ir con ellos con las dichas mercaderias al reino de Inglaterra al puerto de Bristol, y prometio y se obligo que partira con la dicha nao e mercaderias para el dicho reino de Inglaterra al dicho puerto de Bristol con el primer buen tiempo y aquel no perdiendo y llegado que sea en el dicho puerto de Bristol con el buen salvamiento se obligo de dar e entregar e consignar todas las dichas mercaderias conforme a los dichos conocimientos de cargazon al dicho Roberto Tindale o a quien su poder e comision para ello tuviera luego que llegare tiempo habiendo y se obligo que tendra de demora con la dicha nao treinta dias primeros siguientes para que el dicho Roberto Tindale reciba sus mercaderias e disponga de ellas como le pareciere, y se obligo de llevar este dicho viaje en le dicha nao veinte y un marineros e seis grumetes e dos mozos, y el dicho Roberto le ha de pagar de fleyte y averias lo que de yuso sera declarado.

Y ten el dicho Roberto Tindale acepto lo susodicho e llegados en buen salvamiento el la dicha Bristol el dicho Roberto Tindale prometio y se obligo de recibir todas las dichas mercaderias conforme a los dichos conocimientos de cargazon y de librar la dicha nao dentro de los dichos treinta dias de la dicha demora. E asi bien se obligo que dara e pagara al dicho Joan Sandres maestre o a quien por el fuere de fleyte cuarenta sueldos moneda corriente en Inglaterra por cada un tonel de vino e otros cuarenta sueldos de la dicha moneda por cada un tonel de miel y treinta sueldos de la dicha moneda por cada un tonel de fierro e por las otras mercaderias que en la dicha nao fueren conforme a los conocimientos de cargazon dentro de veinte dias primeros siguientes despues que la dicha nao en la dicha Bristol llegase e mas las averias acostumbradas de mas de un real castellano de averia por cada un tonel de las dichas mercaderias que al dicho Joan Sandres habia dado e pagado y el dicho Joan Sandres confeso haber recibido del dicho Roberto la dicha averia un real por cada un tonel de las dichas mercaderias.

Y ten el dicho Joan Sandres se obligo de venir mediante dios con la dicha nao desde la dicha Bristol al puerto desta dicha villa de San Sebastian y de traer al dicho Roberto el retorno de las dichas mercaderias en la dicha nao en cualesquier mercaderias que el dicho Roberto Tindale en la dicha nao quisiere cargar sin que por las dichas mercaderias lleve fleyte alguno excepto ceberas. E si ceberas, trigo o otras cosas de cebera trajiere, el dicho Roberto prometio y se obligo de dar e pagar de fleyte al dicho maestre por todas las ceberas que en la dicha nao trajiere a ocho por ciento, ocho hanegas por cada centenal de hanegas luego que llegare des cargandose la dicha nao e mas las averias acostumbradas

139. THE CUSTOMER'S CERTIFICATE FOR THE *CAESAR*, 1558.

On the 2 July, the Bristol customer acknowledged payment for the following exports,

<i>Robert Tyndall</i>	<i>20 cloths without grain</i>
	<i>1 fother lead</i>
<i>William Tyndall</i>	<i>10 cloths without grain</i>
<i>Domingo de Hiastia al.</i>	<i>½ a Bristol frieze</i>
<i>Thomas Chester</i>	<i>40 straits</i>
<i>John Saunders</i>	<i>20 Bridgwaters</i>
<i>James Boyse</i>	<i>30 Bridgwaters</i>

in the Caesar of St. Sebastian, John Saunders master.

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./D 214.

140. THE WRECK OF THE *CAESAR*, 1561.

A letter from the High Court of Admiralty to the Vice Admiral of Devon, various local gentlemen and the merchants of Northam and Bideford. The ship Caesar, Robert Tyndale, merchant of Bristol, owner, was wrecked in a tempest on Barnstaple bar on the night of 27 January, 1561 when returning from Spain. Any goods or tackle cast on shore belonging to Tyndale or other merchants must be gathered and returned to him. The Admiralty Court was to be informed by Michaelmas. 16 April, 1561.

Suche goodes as was in the *Sezar* of Bristowe . . .⁸ was perished by the pleazer of God upon the barr of Bastable, the 27th daye of Jenever, last beinge owner Robert Tyndale.

In primis, belongginge to the merchauntes of the same shipp and the seyd owner lxxxxij tons yren of Spayne.

Item, more belongginge to the seyd Robert Tyndale in a coffer made in Spayne, fardellyd with canves and ropes, xvj dozen Spanyshe felltes, viij swurrd blades, won swurd with hilltes and a crosbowe.

Item, more in another coffer viij dozen of the seyd felltes.

Item, more in another coffer a cheyne of goldd tie doble linkt, won goldd ringe with a diamantes stone sharpp, another goldd rynge with a turquess, a jewell of goldd ancyllid, v perlls and a crystall stone, in hyt a pice of vellvet, a pice of grene sey, aperrell of clothe, ij shertes, iiij handkercheys wrought with sylke, a daggar gyllt with goldd skabar of velvet from Myllan and other jewells.

Item, another Danske coffer and in hytt ij peyre of black sylk knytt hozen, ij peyre of whyte gloves, ij swurds gyurdells of velvet and sertayne sarrplarrs, therty and ij peyre of knyves.

Item, another coffer and in hytt xxv ducats in rials of plate and apparell of my servauntes Thomas Lasy, viij vares of black taffata.

⁸ *The MS. is torn.*

Item, a plate of yren for a chiminy.
 Item, xvij sackes of fethers for beddes.
 Item, a fether bedd and a bollster, a chere of tymber.
 Item, vij dozen of Spanyshe rengis made with sylk.
 Item, xiiij bagges of lycoras.
 Item, xxv pices dedmans, great and small.
 Item, x crosse barrs of yren, x peyre of cloven shott of yren.
 Item, ij^clxx shott of yren.
 Item, lj chambers for the seyd picis and forelockes of yren.
 Item, mastes, yardes, sales, cables, shorowdes, takles, pullys and all other ropes, v cables ij hawsers and v ankers, the shippes bote with cheyns, bolt and ringe of yren.
 plumpe and cappsteyne.
 cheynes, bolltes of yren, knees, beames, planks and other tymber belonginge to the seyd shipp and all other her aparell.

H.C.A. 14/5/182 A.

141. JOHN SAUNDERS BORROWS MONEY, 1562.⁹

John Saunders borrowed £80 from Mathew Tucker of Uplowman in the County of Devon, 23 April, 1562.

The condicion of this obligacion is suche that if the above bowndon John Sawnders, his executors, administrators or assignis do well ande trewlle paye or cawse to be paide to the above namyd Mathewe Tucker, his executors, administrators or assigns, the summ of fourescore powndes of good and lawfull moonney of Englande in mannowre and forme followinge; which is to saye, at the feast of Sainte Jamys the Appostill in the yere of owr Lord God a thowsande five hundred threscore ande thre, twentie powndes of good and lawfull moonney of Englande, and at the feast of Sainte Jamis the Apostill next ensuing the same in the yere of owre Lorde God a thowsande five hundred threscore ande fowre other twentie poundes of good ande lawfull monneye of Englande, and at the feast of Sainte Jamis the Apostill next ensuinge the same in the yere of owre Lorde God a thowsande five hundred threscore ande fyve other twentie poundes of good and lawfull munni of Englande, and at the feast of Saint Jamis the Apostill next ensuinge the date of the same in the yere of owre Lorde God a thowsande five hundred thre skore and six other twentie powndes of good ande lawfull moonney of Englande for the full paiment of the abovesaide sum of fowrescore powndes without anie delaye. That then this present obligacion to be voyd and of none effect or ellse to stande in his full strenkith and vertewe.

wytnes Robert Tyndale per me John Hancok John Saunders
 wytnes Thomas Lacie

⁹ John Saunders is here described as a merchant of Bristol but this was probably the master of the ship Caesar, wrecked the previous year.

The obligation bound Saunders to pay Mathew Tucker £100 if the instalments were not paid on time.

Endorsed: payd the vj of August, anno 1568, in part of payment of this obligacion twenty powndes and ij^d.

Item, more payd hym at tymes twenty and fowre powndes as may apere by acquittance.

Item, more payd the xjth of May, anno 1569, thre powndes and fowre shillinges payd you at another tyme in Brystowe the 6 of August, 1569.

B.A.O. P. St.J.B./Misc. 18.

142. A BILL OF EXCHANGE FROM ROBERT TYNDALL IN BILBAO NOT PAID IN LONDON BECAUSE OF HIS BROTHER'S DEATH, 1559.

To all people to whome theis presentes shall come, I Richarde Langton of the Citie of Brystowe, notary, sende gretinge in oure Lorde God Everlastinge. That for as muche as it is the parte of every Christiane to declaire the trueth that Justice maie take place, knowe ye that John White citizen of London, draiper, presented to me the xth daie of Februarie 1559 a letter of attorney made from John Jakes of London foresaide, marchaunte, to hym the saide John Whyte bearinge daite the xxth daie of Januarie 1559, and aliso one bill of exchange bearinge daite in Bilbao the thurd of Novembre 1558, of sixtie fyve poundes xvjs viij^d of good and lawfull money directed to William Tyndall as by the said bill appearith, which bill of attorney and byll of exchange I then red and afterwarde at the special request of the saide John Whyte I went with him to the wief of William Tyndall, named in the foresayde byll of exchange, for that the saide William Tyndall is disceased, of whome the saide John Whyte asked paiment of the saide byll of exchange, accordingle, which she utterlie denied to paie. Then the saide John Whyte, in presens of me the saide notary, did saie and protest unto the wief of the saide Wylliam Tyndale that, forasmuche as he coulde have no pament of the saide byll of exchange accordinge to the effect of the same, that Robert Tyndale from whome the saide bill of exchange did come sholde paie all maner suche interestes, damages and costes as for a defaulte of paiment had or might growe of the same. So the said John White untill thys present daie can have no paiment of the saide bill of exchange. In wittnes hereunto I have subscribed, the xth daie of Februarie 1559.

per me Ricard Langton
notary public

Memorandum that I, John White, draper of London, confesse to have received of Robart Tyndall merchant, the somm of lxxvi xvjs viij^d for the full satisfyeng of a byll of exchange of the seyd Robart Tyndall dew to John Jakes, merchant of London to hos usse I have received the seyd money and by vertu of his power I doe clerly dyscharge the seyd

Robert Tyndall for all costes, charges and interestes that hathe or myght have rissyn by the defawte of payment dewly made according to your byll of exchange and in wyttnes of truth I have made this with my owne hand and signyd yt the xv daye of Aprell 1559 in Brystowe.

by me John White

Endorsed

a procuracion of John Jakes, merchaunt of London.

B.A.O. P. St. J.B./Misc. 233.

143. ANOTHER CLAIMANT TO THE BILL OF EXCHANGE.

In London the 23 day of Martche 1559.

Frend Robard Tyndall,

After my hartey comendassyons as unaquantyd with you, etc. Sir, thys may be to serteffye you that wher you toke of Hery Gren 200 ducats by exchange to be paid in London by your brother to my son in law, John Jakes, 65^{li} 16^s 8^d as by your bylles aperes, witche bylles were not exseptyd by mens wher of thay have ben protestyd and yet kept here tyll your cummynge, dowtyng not but you wyll se the somm payd with the charges and enterest witche wyll not be mytche. Thys beyng to requyre you in the behallfe of the sayd John Jakes as his lawfull atorneye for that he ys gon in to Frans by safe cundet partly abowt my bessynes as his owen that you fayll not apon the syght here of to pay unto thys berrer Master Hyntleye the sayd 65^{li} 16^s 8^d with x^s at the lest for forberrans of the monye and the charges and yf yt be to mytche he hathe order to remyt a lytell pees. He hathe also power and your byll for your soffyssent dyscharge for the payment ther of, prayng you at no hand to fayll ther of for as God helpe me I have monye to pay for hym witche must nedes be paid and his rekenyng was of yt to helpe dyscharge his det as knowythe God, howe kepe you in helthe, amen.

Yours,

John Broke, draper.

Master James Chester can serteffye you that I am his father in lawe and that this my leter shal be your soffyssyent dyscharge yet Master Hyntleye hathe his owen power as aperes.

Endorsed

To hys frend Robard Tyndall merchant be this delivered in Brystowe by Master Hyntleye.

B.A.O. P.St. J.B./Misc. 235.

144. HUGH TIPTON WRITES TO HIS MASTER, WILLIAM SPRAT, 1537.

Jehus in the Rendry, the iiijth day of August, anno 1537.

Ryght worshipfull master and maistress, lowly recomende me unto yow, trustyng that yow be in good helthe, and that this present is to sertyffy yow that the 27 of July departyd here hens the *Trynyte* and the *Mary Bryd*. In the *Trynyte* I send your cabull and in the *Mary Bryde* ij gons, with them I wryte yow of all that had past to the which I doe reffere me. And now this is only to sertyffy yow that yow shall resseve, be the grace of Jehu, owt of the ship callyd the *Savyor* of the Rendry, master Damyngo de Sobjeta, a gonne, the companyon of that send in the *Mary Bryd* and cost us moche as she dyd. Yow most prove hyre before Damyngo de Sobjeta, for yeff she mysscary, the master is bond to make hyre agayne. I wold have sende yow ij more but I cannot have them onder 30 ducats the pesse. My thing them dere, how be het they be betor then theys I send yow. Yeff they be for yow, doe yow wrytt me with the fyrst and yow shall have them send with versus, as mony as het shall pleze yow.

Sir, within this iiij days I doe departe for Bylbow and thedor doe I cary al suche clothes I have here of yours, with some of other mens here. Comys no man to by nowe and I most nydes make money to pay that I doe owe, or part of hit. The ladyng of your shipe is strangeres goodes, as Damyngoes and others in the ship. As to Damyngo de Sobyeta and his broder, yow most nydes favore for they doe yow plezar here lycke wysse. As to all others, medull as lytell with them as yow may for they have not orderyd owre nassyon well this yere. The other shipe is a prysse lane with salte, a good ship and new. Othere at the present I have non to wryt yow as knewys. Jehu, who ever preserve your mastershippe in good helthe,

Your servaunt,

Hew Typton.

Endorsed: To his worshipfull master, William Sprat, merchaunt, in Bristow, in the *Savyor* of the Rendry.

In sending this to Cromwell, Sprat begs him to keep it secret because yf hit shulde be knowyn amongst the Spanyardes that my sarvant shulde wryte anny thing to do them dessplesure, they wollde fynde sum manar of menys for to desstroye him ther and I shulde be in grett dangar to loze my goodes and my sarvant his lyfe.

S.P. 1/123/217-19.

145. BRISTOL MERCHANTS SUPPORT THE MEN OF SAN SEBASTIAN AGAINST A CHARGE OF PIRACY, 1548.

A document in Spanish from the chief men of San Sebastian is accompanied by supporting statements from English merchants.

I, Robert Tyndall, merchaunt of the Syte of Bristow, beinge resident at this prezent in this towne of San Sebastians, do knowlege and geve

...¹⁰ and trewly confes that this informasion in this prezent conteynid and firmyd by the trew Justis of this seyde towne of S.S. who is Nycholas de Verastigne for Justis alcalde, and Nycholas de Plasaola, writer ordeynyd and admyted by the noble Cownsell of Spayne and won of the number of this towne and be just in ther offecis and allso all that above and herein conteynid is downe and made by the Councell of this seyde towne and . . .¹⁰ I did se the shipp made in this foreseyde towne and John Destiron is trew owner of her and have bene this iij yeris and this berrar, who is Pedro de Lerin, neybur of this towne, have bene allweyes master in her, as many honest men bothe in Poole and other placis can trewly testefy. Allso I knowe that she was freightid by men of this towne whose names go writen herein, and for the knolege of trewthe I do firme this with my name and lowly dezire yow, Masters and Justices to uze trew Justis and be mercifull to this honest man, Pedro de Lerin, for trewly, by yvell informasion of owr enymiz the Frenshemen and Scottes for feare the lest ther shipp and for no other mater and in this dowinge, Masters, in like maner we and all owr nacion shall be orderid here, even in Sen Sibastians, the therty daye of June, anno 1548.

Robert Tyndall.

Similar statements are made by Laurence Bowerman and by Nicholas Wosley, servaunt and factor for Nycholas Thorne and company, merchautes of Bristow.

From H.C.A. 24/14/35-44.

146. ENGLISH MERCHANTS AND THEIR FACTORS IN SPAIN, 1554.

Worshipful Sir, thes few wordes of remembrance is to dessyre yow to be so good as to delever this 7 ducats to Richard Fownes, Master Johnes servant of Bristow, and to dessyre him that he will imploye it in irne with the reste of my mastres monye and to lade yt whare he hathe geven him comecion in small irne of the Rendre or in what maner of wares or irne that he hathe geven him commacion,

by youres to command

Robert Powa

Servant unto Nicollas Crosby of Bristow merchant.

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 206r.

I, Richard Fownes, do confes to have received of yow Robert Tyndale thes vij ducats on ther syde menshoned, I seye seven ducats in rialls of plate and for your discharge I fyrm here my name in S.S. the ij of Desember, anno 1554.

per me Rychard Fownes

A remembrans to his frynde Robert Tyndale geven by Robert Pewell of Bristow.

B.A.O. P. St.J.B./Misc. 206v.

¹⁰ MS. not clear.

147. PAYMENT FOR FREIGHT OF IRON FROM SPAIN, 1557.

anno 1557

Be hytt known be this present bill that I, Frances Fyckett off Walberswycke, maryner and oner of the good shipp called the *Margery* of Walberswycke do acknowleige and confesse be this me present bill to be fully contentyd and payd of Sampson Hamerslye of the citie of Bristow merchant the some of twelve powndes of corant monye of Yngland which was for the freight of viij ton of yern that came in the foresaid *Margery*, master William Hyckockes, the same viage. And because I the foresaid Fraunces do acknowleige me selfe to be fully payd, I have cawsyd this bill to be maid for his discharge and for the more surans I the foresaid Fraunces do bynde me my eres with me shipp that yt shall not be requyredd of hym agayn and be cause it is of truth I have putto me fyrme and sealle, evyn in Brystow the ix of June anno 1557.

per me Francys Fyckett¹¹*B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 86.*

148. JOHN CUERTON IN BILBAO ACTS AS FACTOR FOR ROBERT TYNDALL IN SAN SEBASTIAN, 1558.

Jehus in Bilbao, the 15 of February, 1558.

Brodr, as to deys past received yors by this beyrer Martin Candeylon to sey the x ferdeles of hydes, of the which ther was to ferdeles brokyn in the which ther was 25 hydes. To sey what be in the rest I canot tel for why you have not writton in yor letter not yet in the connosemente. So, as I sey, I canot tel what hydes ther is in al. For the freyght I have peyd the master nothyng for he wald not take 3 ryales for the carke becawse oder had peyd hym more, so that ther you most pey hym the freyght. Item, laden in this same barke in eyght ferdeles, to sey 59 dossen lakyng 4 skyns, the which I reseyyvyd of Robert Hattons man and no more. These 8 ferdeles go for fore carkes for the which you most pey thre ryales the carke for freyght, I sey of 4 carkes. For yor wheyt I cold not send you. Here is so greyt wach leyde both by dey and nyght. I have here for yow half a dossen hawkes and we cold have them out but as now hit is not possybul, for here al the towne is in a maner ageynst me, God amend them. For oder, as now ther is not til we know forder and thus to Jehus I commend you, Amen.

Yors asureyd,

John Cuerton.¹²*B.A.O. P. St.J.B./Misc. 179.*

¹¹ On 20 August, 1556, Francis Fickett, owner of the *Margery* of Walberswick, was sued in the Bristol Tolzey Court by a Spanish merchant for a debt of £200. He was also sued by John Mascall for £4 6s 8d.

B.A.O. 04466/160v.

On 5 November, 1557, the *Margery* was laden by two alien merchants at Penarth with butter for export uncustomed and without a licence.

E 159/338 Easter 17.

¹² There is a postscript which I have not yet been able to decipher.

149. NORTHERN CLOTH WHICH PROVED UNMERCHANTABLE AT CORUNNA, 1532.

Thomas a Lake, merchant of Bristol, complained that, on the 2 May, 1532, he had purchased from John Browne of Bristol cloth called Northern dozens, to be delivered to him at Cbrunna, good, whole and marchauntabill. In return, he gave Browne an obligation for £33. When the cloths arrived they were so broken, badly made and torn that no-one would buy them. A Lake lost his market, the cloths remaining there unsold, so that he was not even able to freight his share of the ship for the return voyage. Brown then brought an action for the recovery of the £33.

C1/716/11.¹³

150. BRISTOL SHIPS AND MEN SEIZED IN NORTHERN SPAIN, 1570.

To the Lordes of the Quennes Majesties honorable Councell.

In most humble wise showith and complainnyth unto your Honnowres your daille oratowres Robart Saxie, George Higgons, John Browne, William Yonge, John Suche, Richart Fowens, Robart Smithe, Thomas Rowlande, Richart Yonge, Nicollas Blake, William Hix and Frawncis Rowley, marchauntes of the Cite of Bristowe, havinge intelligence by lettres sent owght of Spaine from the porte of Seinte Sebastians in the province of Guipusqua that to Englishe shippis, men of war, meetinge with too Spannishe shippis apone the cost of Spaine cominge owght of Flaunders, fowght with them and in the fight tooke the one and went away with her and the other eskappid from them and recoverrid the cost of Spaine with their owner and master slaine, with too or thre of the cumpene sore hurt, by meanis thereof they have staiyde in the porttes of the saide province of Guypusqua thre of your saide supliauntes shippis, tackinge the goodes owght of the possession of your saide oratours servauntes and factors handes, imprissonning them, as allso the maisters and marriners of the saide shippis. And, as we be credably ceartyffiyd by owre lettres from Spaine, the tackinge of the Spanniarde ys don by one Thomas Cobham. And for as muche as your saide orators shippis was not at the doinge of the saide facte, nother culppable therin, we most humblie deasire your honnowres, of your accustomed clemencies to extende your goodnes towardes your saide oratowrs, that redres might be had in this behalf, in the restoringe of owre shippis and goodes, ootherwise hit wilbe a utter undoinge of divers yonge men for that in those shippis concystithe their holle substaunce. And in so doinge we shalbe bounde continually to pray for the preservacion of your Honnowres
...

¹³ See also C 1/716/14, a similar action by Thomas a Lake against Thomas Calles, alias Skalys of Bristol.

Dr. Lewes of the Admiralty Court supported their petition, saying that if the Bristol men took no part in the action their ships were wrongly stayed since one man may not lawfully be punished for another's wrong doing. The Queen should write to the King of Spain on their behalf.

Endorsed: William Preston in the behalf of sundrie marchauntes of the Citie of Bristowe.

S.P. 12/75/100.

151. ROBERT TYNDALL AND JOHN FRAMPTON TAKEN BY THE INQUISITION.

To the Right Honorable, the Lorde of Burghley.

In their moste wofull maner sheweth unto your honor your suppliantes, Robert Tyndall and John Frampton of Bristowe and William Ellize of Asperton in the Countie of Devon, late marchauntes and the Quenes Majesties naturall subjectes, late in case right good to live and nowe in state moste miserable, that where your saide suppliauntes did trade into Spayne in the waye of marchaundize, soe it is, Righte Honorable, that besides longe and miserable ymprisonmentes, besides the intollerable tormentes of the stroppadoe there susteyned by the aucthorytie of the Inquysitors of Spayne, your saide suppliantes are there spoyled of all their goodes, to the value of M^lM^lCCxxvij^{li} x^s vj^d, to their utter undoyng. In tender consideracion whereof, and for as moche as the subjectes of the Kinge of Spayne have (as it is saide) upon arrest here in Englande dyvers goodes and marchandizes, it may please your Honor, of your great charitie and goodnes to be a meane to the Quenes Majestie, that restitution out of the same goodes of the subjectes of the Kinge of Spayne maye be made accordinge to good conscience, before the saide goodes be delyvered. And your suppliantes shalbe bounde accordinge to duetie not only to praye for Her Majestie, but also for your Honors long lief in moche honor and felicitie longe to contynue.

Of the whiche some above mencionid they have onley deteynid of the propre goodes of your poore orator, Robert Tyndale, within the space of these two yeres laste paste, as maye appere by sufficiente proffes delyvered to her Majesties Commissioners amounting to the some of
of the whiche some ther duthe aparteainge unto your poore orator, John Frampton, as maye appere by sufficient proffes deliverid to her Majesties Comysioneres amountinge to the some of
of the which some ther duthe appartaigne unto your poore orator, William Ellys, as may appere by sufficient proffes to the some of

M^lxxxv^{li} vj^s vj^d

vij^clix^{li} xvij^s

iiij^cxxxij^{li} vj^s

S.P. 12/120/54.

152. A DISPUTE OVER FREIGHT CHARGES, 1506.

To the right reverent Fader in God, William, Archebusshop of Caunterbury and Chaunceller of Englund.

Sheweth and complayneth unto your good and gracious Lordship your dayly orator, William Clerke, marchant, that where your said orator stondyt bounden unto oon Hugh Eliot by his dede obligatory in the some of xv^{li} payable at the fest of Seynt Michell th' archangell whiche shalbe in the yere of the reign of our sovereign lord the Kyng the xxij yere, whiche somme the seid Hugh desired your seid orator to content and paye hym afore the seid fest, promising to your seid orator to deliver him his seid obligacion. Whiche somme of xv^{li} your seid orator uppon trust of the deliverance of the seid obligacion hath well and treuly contented and payed to the seid Hugh. Sith whiche payment your seid orator hath many and dyvers tymes required the seid Hugh to delyver hym the seid obligacion, that to doo he hath at all tymes refused and yet refuseth. And also that where the seid Hugh Eliot about the xij day of September in the xxj yere of the reigne of oure seid sovereign lord the Kyng, being cape marchant of a ship of your seid orator called the *Mighell* of Bristowe beyng bound to Sent Lucas de Baramaytha in Andalasea with in the realme of Spayn, the seid Hugh, takyng uppon hym accordyng to the lawe marchant, that by cause he was the fyrst that toke upon hym the fright of the same ship he shuld soo answeere for the fright of the same that your seid orator shuld have his full fright and if noo the seid Hugh, then beyng cape marchant, as is afore rehersed, to content and pay to your seid orator for every tonne rome voyde as moche as hit had ben full, whiche ship was and is of the burden of lxxxxv tonne tyght. And over that, it was agreed betwene your seid orator and the seid Hugh, then beyng cape marchant of the same, and other persons whiche then toke them to help the full frighting of the seid ship to pay to your seid orator at the retornyng home for every tonne come from the seid parties of Sent Lucas de Baramaytha in Andalasea within the seid realme of Spayn in to this realme of Englund xxij^s of good and lafull money of Englund. Whiche Hugh sith his returnyng from the seid parties of Spayn wold nothing content ne pay your seid orator for the voyde rome of xv tonne beyng voyed and unfilled in the seid ship in his defaute contrary to the seid lawe marchant, not withstondyng that your seid orator hath many and dyvers¹⁴ hym required that to pay whiche amounteth to the somme of xvj^{li} x^s. And over that, nowe of late the seid Hugh withoute any ground or cause of right hath put the seid ship in the haven of Bristowe aforeseid under reste so that your seid orator cannot have his ship to fryght and use the course of marchandise with the same in to no parte of the realme ne noo where elles to his greate empoverysshing contrary to all right and good conscience, for the recovere of the premisses your seid orator is withoute remedy by the commen lawe. In

¹⁴ times is omitted here.

consideracion wherof, it may please your seid lordship, the premisses tenderly considered to graunt a writte sub pena to be directed to the seid Hugh commaundyng hym by the same to appere before the Kyng in his Chauncery at a certeyn day and under a certeyn payn by your good lordship to be lymitted, there to aunswere to the premisses. And over that, to stond and obey suche ordre and direccion as shalbe thought most best by your good lordship. And your seid orator shall daily pray to God for the preservacion of your good and gracious lordship longe to endure.

C 1/297/48.

153. EXPORTS TO SPAIN.

1544 Edward Stanbanke reported that Nicholas Oseley, merchant of Bristol, on 29 July, 1543, shipped 20 dickers of leather at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, and took them overseas for sale.

E 159/322 Hil. 19r.

1558 William Harvest, merchant of Bristol, reported that John Irysshe, Richard White and Thomas Symondes, owners of the ship Julian, shipped 22 barells of butter, at Bristol on the 1 December, 1557 for export uncustomed. The ship was seized but the Queen died and the case was adjourned, so that when commissioners came to value the ship, she had already departed overseas.

E 159/339 Mich. 28r and v.

1565 George Lucas, merchant tailor of London, reported that Randall Wilborne, on the 1 February and many other days shipped 350 dozen calf skins, his own goods, to le Baye de Cadis in Spain uncustomed.

E 159/351 Mich. 61v.

1568 John Crayke of London, glazier, reported that Randall Wilbram, merchant of Bristol, had shipped since the previous May, in the Fox of Bristol, owner Edward Wilbram of Hereford, 200 qr. of wheat, uncustomed and without a licence, to San Sebastian in Biscay.

E 159/356 Easter 34r.

1568 William Goslate, searcher, reported that Anthony Thompson, merchant of Bristol, on 17 January at Kingroad, in the Toby of Bristol, shipped 20 weys of wheat (6 qr. in each wey) for export uncustomed and without a licence.

E 159/356 Easter 86r and v.

154. IMPORTS FROM SPAIN.

1532 William Tyndale of Bristol, yeoman, seized 30 lbs. Spanish saffron called Aragon saffron, the goods of William Dilling, Irish merchant, landed at Bristol uncustomed.

E 159/311 Easter 52r.

1553 Richard Serche on 3 June at Bristol seized a pipe and 17 ends of iron, the goods of William Tyndall of Bristol, merchant. Tyndall said that he had taken delivery of the iron at Cadiz in Spain and brought it to Bristol on the Bark Sherington, unloaded and claimed it as his own and reported it at the custom house.

E 159/332 Trin. 14.

1553 Richard Serche reported that he had seized 160 woolfells, a chest partly filled with sugar, 40 lbs. of grains, 12 lb. of pepper, a piece of linen cloth called Callycoo cloth, 10 felt hats and a sugar loaf, goods of a merchant unknown, landed uncustomed. Robert Young claimed the sugar which he said he obtained at Cadiz with other goods and brought to Bristol in the Bark Sherington. It was unloaded into the custom house where the customers agreed that some allowance should be made since the chest was not full and he paid 3s. for custom and subsidy and then unloaded the sugar.

E 159/332 Trin. 11r and v.

1559 William Harvest claimed that George Higgons and John Roberts had imported on 15 June 19 tons 1 pipe of wool oil¹⁵ uncustomed. The merchants said the oil was purchased by them from Mathew Martyn of Antwerp who had shipped it from Seville to Wales in the Fortune of Emden and customed it in Wales on 1 December.

E 159/340 Mich. 5v.

1575 John Field, waiter in the port of Bristol, reported that Thomas Pullington, merchant of Bristol, on 11 April in the Trinity of Bristol, Richard Strowbridge owner, Davy Davies master, imported 400 lb. Spanish wool and 1500 lez canes,¹⁶ landed uncustomed.

E 159/369 Trin. 6r.

155. THE WILL OF JOHN BENETT, 1507.

In Dei Nomine Amen. Hereafter folowith the testament and last will of me, John Benett, merchaunt of Bristowe, made in Seint Lucar de Barmera, the xij day of Januarye, the yer of Our Lorde M^lv^cvij. Fyrst, I bequethe my soule to Almyghti God and my body to be buried at Seint Frauncesse de Barametha. Item, I bequethe to my father xx markes. Item, I bequeth to the parishe church that I was borne in xx marke, to be prayed for and they to take it in such dettes and ware as I have, the parishe of Seint Lowas in Goware Mummysles beyonde Sowaynse. Item, I forgeve William Barynowe all suche thynges as is betwene hym and me and I bequethe hym to helpe hym out of prison M^lv^c maravedis, that is valored of xx^s. Also I desire John Lewsell and Thomas Malarde to se my body honestly buried in the saide freeres.

¹⁵ Almost certainly olive oil.

¹⁶ There is no indication what canes these were.

Item, I bequeth to Margaret, the women that kepithe me v^c maravedis, valured at vj^s viij^d. The residue of all my goodes mevable and unmevable in the see and beyonde see I geve and bequethe to Johanne my wyf, the which I ordeigne and make my sole executrice, she to pay all such dettes that may be proved and lawfully axed by my bokes, billes or obligacions and Thomas Maylard and John Thomas overseers, they to have every of theym for their labour xl^s. In wittenesse herof my gostely fader, frere Rodige and John Lewsell and Thomas Maylard and Margarete, my keper, with other, geven the date abovesaid.

Probate was granted 7 February, 1507.

P.C.C. 19 Adean.

156. THE WILL OF ROBERT COKE, 1522.

In the name of God, amen. I, Robert Coke of Bristowe, merchaunt, being in good and right mynde, make and ordeyn this my last will and testament. First, I bequeth my soule to our Lorde Jesu Christe and to his Moder, Saint Mary, and my body to be buried in the Nonery called the Madre de Deus in Saint Lukes and I geve and bequeth to the said place iiij dokettes of golde and more I will that there be gevyn to pour people two dukettes of golde. Item, I will that my brother John Coke and Martyn Pollard shall receyve in their power all suche goodes as I have left with Richard Davies in Luxborne or the procedewe therof, whiche is lxvij hole clothes of the which is iij of Roger Monox, ij whites and oon rede and more ix peces Kendalles and fyve brodemedes of John Thomas and a pece red kersy and a half a violet cloth. Item, a pece of white fryse and oon Aburgayne yelow and more the procedew of xxv dossen kerseys which were sold for xlv dokettes of the which ij of Maistres Hobies. Also I will that the said John, my brother, and Martyn Pollard paye such dettes as I owe here, first to Adam Skelton for a reste that he lent me in Luxborne xxxj doketts and a quarter discontinge certeyn mermelado and money delivered to him in Luxborne. Item, to Roger Monox I owe lxxij dokettes and to Thomas Tisson v dokettes. Item, to Maister Robert Power oon dokett and half and to Adam for John Wynter xij dokettes and xij^d sterlinges, and also Martyn Pollard hath xxvj peces stamens and 800 dokettes receyved of John Withipoll, lett be soever what he hath laden and laide owte and paid for me and the rest therof and all other my goodes a this side the see. I will that my brother, John Coke and Martyn Pollard see my dettes paide here and the rest to be conveyede to my wife, Elnor Coke, I say my wife Elnor Coke whom I ordeyn and make my sole executrix, she to se my dettes paide and the rest of all my goodes I geve to hir, she to distribute amonges my children as she shall thinke best. Written the xijth day of Marche, anno 1522, in the towne of Saint Luker de Barameda. I geve my brother, John Coke, my

doblett of violett damaske and a tawny gowne furred with blak conye, desiring mi brother to be good to my children and to geve Richard, my servaunt, a pair of my hossyn and a rewarde for his labour in my sickenes, remitting to my brother and Martyn Pollard all other thinges that shalbe necessary for me. And I geve to Martyn Pollard my syngle gowne and my tawny doblet of damaske which I have here. And for witnesse I have to this my testament fermed with my hande with these recordes underwritten.

Probate was granted 28 October, 1525.

P.C.C. 38 Bodfeld.

157. TRADING IN ANDALUSIA.

1501 John Rokes of Bristol sold to John Day, now calling himself Hugh Say, 19 woollen cloths of various colours to be delivered to Day or his agent at St. Lucar de Barameda in Andalusia by the last day of October, 1501. John Jones and John Rokes were jointly bound to John Day in £60 for the performance of the obligation. When he saw the cloths at Bristol on 4 October, Day rejected 3 of them but the remainder were shipped on the Michael Marke which Rokes and Day owned jointly. Rokes said that Day caused the ship to be delayed at Bristol so that they should lose their £60. With the short time for the voyage and gret rages and tempestes of wether, the 31 October passed by before they could get to St. Lucar. John Rokes died and John Jones found himself sued by Day in the Staple Court of Bristol.

C 1/265/2.

Martin Saunce de Darieca complained that he had agreed with John Drue and William Foxley, merchants of Bristol, that Martin should deliver certain tons of wine for them at Bristol on an agreed date. The Spaniards bound themselves by a bond obligatory in £100 sterling to keep the terms of the contract. Drue and Foxley were similarly bound. When he brought the wines to Bristol both were absent from the town and had left no agent to receive the wines for them or to pay the charges. Darieca had to pay the costs of ship and crew during a long stay in Bristol and finally sell the wines to another at less than the agreed price. Then when he came again to Bristol, Drue sued him in the local court for the £100.

C 1/574/30.

William Parker, citizen and salter of London, complained that William Shipman and William Ostryche would not pay the proportion of a pipe of wine called teynte otherwyse callyd wyne Aligant taken from the ship Saviour as prisage, though they had shared the cost of a butt of sack belonging to Edward Prynn also taken as prise wine.

C 1/872/13-14.

John Petre, merchant of London, complained that the previous May at St. Lucar he had sold to Robert Newbourne of Bristol wine and other goods to the value of £19 15s. 10d. to be paid by August. Newbourne and one Silvester Sedborow of Bruton were bound to the payment by a bill obligatory to which both affixed their seals. Both refused to pay and, because the bargain was made abroad, Petre had no remedy at common law.

C 1/1150 /44.

1547 William Tyndale, merchant of Bristol had come to Thomas Harris offering to sell him 20 butts of sack which he promised would be good and merchantable. Harris entered into an obligation for £100 for payment but the sack was so poor that he could not get anyone to take it for £3 the butt. He asked for longer time for payment because most of it still remained on his hands but Tyndale had begun an action in the Staple Court at Bristol.

C 1/1234/20.

James Dowle, merchant of Bristol, sold to Davye Jones of Cowbridge in Glamorgan, certain wines and honey to the value of £11 16s. 10d. to be paid 4 months later. Dowle then lost the bond and witnesses had died so he had no remedy at common law. He hoped that Jones on oath might acknowledge it.

C 3/50/17,

158. A SHIPMENT OF RAISINS FROM CADIZ, 1537.

A large consignment of raisins was sent from Cadiz to Bristol by William Parker in a ship belonging to William Dolphin of London. The raisins from Malaga were transhipped at Cadiz apparently because the ship carrying them was stayed for the Emperor's service. When they arrived in Bristol they were ruined with wine and oil and William Powell of Brystowe who had bought them would not receive on pece of the same reasons. Parker declared they had been ruined in Dolphin's ship and refused to pay the freight charges but Dolphin's men insisted that they had been damaged in the Spanish ship before they came on board.

William Weddes, purser of the ship, gave evidence,

That abowte fortentyght before Estur laste paste was xij moneth, the said William Parker, then beyng in the towne of Cales in the parties off Spayne, at what tyme the same Parker dyd bargayne and covenautyd with the said Elyot,¹⁷ then master of the said shippe and this deponent, purser of the same, for the caryage and freight of xx^{ti} tonnes and on hoggished of merchaundizes to be brought in the said shyppe from Cales to Brystow. At what tyme the same Parker promesynd to pay for the frayght and caryage of evry tonne of the saide his goodes xxx^s sterlinge, to be paid to the said Dolphyn or to his assignes. After whiche bargayne fynyshyd, the saide Parker causyd to be brought and delyverd unto this Jurate and to the said Elyot uppon borde the said shyppe xx^{ti} tonnes and on hoggished of reasons and white sope with iij bagges alam, viz. CCCClxxxvij peces of resons, vij serons sope and iij bagges of alam, the whiche made xx^{ti} tonnes and on hoggished in the whole ut dicit. And this Jurate saythe that the same goodes had byn ladon into a Spaynyshe shyppe in the said porte of Calys by the space of vj wekes or thereabowte before th' arryvall of the said Dolphyns shippe into the same porte, for this Jurate saithe that the said goodes wer brought from the same Spaynyshe shyppe into this deponents sayd masters shyppe de visu suo, for he saythe that he was at the receavyng and ladyng of them into the said Dolphyns shippe. And then after that tyme the said Dolphyns shyppe came from Cales unto Kyng Rode and from thense to Hungrode nere Bristowe and arryvyd saffely there withe the said goodes. And abowte Saynte Jamys day mense July articulate, this Jurate and the said Elyot, John Haukyn and Rychard Jettor, his prentesses with the maryners of the said shyppe dyd saffely delyver all the said reasons, sope and alam unto on Mathew, servaunte to the said Parker, ut dicit . . .

et dicit that the same shyppe duryng the viage was strong, stanche and well callyd and the said reasons shippid abaste and before the maste, well condycyonyd and drye, having pepur and furies lyeng upon them and none other waires that myght hurte them and that for those causes he dothe beleve ther cowde no fawte nor over syght be layd unto the same Elyott, wherby he shuld have eny damage, ut dicit. And fyrther saith that the said shyppe had no maner of leke by all the said viage nor receavyd no water into her that cowde hurte the said reasons, ut dicit.

He went on to say that the raisins had been spoiled by wine and oil in the Spanish ship in harbour at Cadiz. He had seen Parker throw 8 casks of raisins overboard and the Spanish sailors handled the goods roughly because they were discontented at being pressed for the Emperor's service and hauled them out with hooks . . .

From H.C.A. 13/2/276-8.¹⁸

¹⁷ Richard Eliot, master of Doplin's ship.

¹⁸ See also H.C.A. 13/3/28v-30r.

159. A BILL OF LADING OF THE *FALCON* FOR SAN LUCAR.

The *Faukon* of Bristow of lx ton, Jamys Cayge of the same place master, laden for St. Lucas in Spayne.

RH	no. 1 to 6	Robert Harrys	six bales
R	no. 1 to 2	John Ryvers	tow trusses
T	no. 7	William Tomkynnes	one fardell
D	no. 1 to 4	Thomas Dansye	fourre chestes
W	no. 2 to 7	William Hart	fyve packes
I.X.L	no. 1 to 7	Jacob van Lane	seaven trusses
FP	no. 2 to 6	Fardinande Peeters	three fardells, one case by me Jamys Caige, master.

S.P. 12/173/58.

160. BRISTOL MERCHANTS PETITION FOR COMPENSATION FOR GOODS SEIZED IN SPAIN, c. 1577.

To the Right Honorable, the Lords and others of the Queenes Majesties moste honorable Privie Counsell.

With all humblenes doe besech your good Lordships your dailie Orators, Robert Kitchinge, William Salterne, William Ellys, John Barker, Thomas James, Mathew Havylande and John Olyver. Whereas your said suppliauntes and others their neighbours, merchauntes of the Citie of Bristoll, have susteyned by shipwrack and pyracies doon unto their shippes and goodes, losses to the value of fortie fyve thowsande poundes or there aboutes, and your saide suppliauntes have at this instante in the Kingdomes of Spayne and Portingall fyve or six of their best shippes verie richlie laden with cloth, lead, wax and other merchaundizes, to the value of ten thowsande poundes, and also that now of late the Kinge of Spaine hath caused all English shippes to be stayed and ymbarged to the greate losse and utter undoinge of the greatest parte of your saide suppliauntes, unles by your good Lordships some meanes be provided for their relief. In tender consideracion whereof maie it please your honnors to graunte that your saide suppliauntes maie be provided for by your honorable good meanes in such manner as the merchauntes of London are which stande in the lyke case. And your poore suppliauntes, their wyves and children, whoe otherwise are like utterlie to be undoon, shall dailie prairie to God for your honorable estates in all helth and happines longe to endure.

S.P. 12/120/51.¹⁹

¹⁹ This petition may have been part of the campaign to secure a charter for a company of merchants trading to Spain granted 8 July, 1577. Seventy-four Bristol men were included in the Company.

161. PROHIBITED GOODS EXPORTED TO SPAIN FROM BRISTOL, 1587.

A note to certifie the names of those marchants whoe have furnished the Kinge of Spaine with all kinde of provicion to the great hurte of her Majestie and the utter undoing of her Highnes realme if such abuse be not redressed.

John Barnard, master of the *Gabriell*.

In primis, Thomas Hollman, Humfrey Hollman and William Swanley of Brystoll, merchautes or co-partners, did fraight a shippe called the *Gabriell* with fishe, butter and leather, lead and powder in and to the porte of Jamounte in Spayne, valewed to be worth the somme of 800^{li} sterling.

The Daisye, William Wilson, *The Lillye*, Alexander Sewater.

John Roberts, merchaunt, sithence that tyme, fraighted and transported 2 shippes for the same place and with lyke comodytie, to the valew of 2000^{li}, and the shippe called the *Lillye* was seased to the Kinges use with foure caste peeeces and tenn muskettes.

Robert Penticost of Brystoll, merchaunt, did also fraight a shippe called the *Lytle William* with like comodytie, valewed at 600^{li}.

Robert Barratt, master and owner of a shippe called the *Jonas*, sometyme the *Beare*, was furnished and freighted by Master Hopkins, merchaunt, and others with lyke comodyties and was their sold with foure cast peeeces and all her sailes and tacklings, for the somme of 300^{li} starling.

Thomas Rockold, master of the *Violet*.

Robert Alder of Bristowe, merchaunt, did fraight and transport the shippe called the *Violet* with like comodytie unto Jamounte, to the valew of 1200^{li}.

Francys Poyllis, merchaunt, transported a shippe called a *Pellican* unto the same place and with like comodyties to the valew of 1200^{li}.

William Dawson of Bristoll transported a shippe unto the same place and with the same comodyties and sould there by on Edward Foreman, being factor for the said Dawson and others, to the valew of 1400^{li}.

John Jenkins of Swansey, master of the *Jeames*.

Raphe Sadler, Richard Sadler and Richard Jeames, merchautes of Bristoll, did also fraight a shippe called the *Jeames* of Swansey unto the same porte, and with like comodyties to the valew of 900^{li}, and afterwarde was seased to the Kinges use with foure cast peeeces and eight muskettes, with all other necessary comodyties belonging to the same.

S.P. 15/30/62.²⁰

²⁰ See also S.P. 12/218/30, S.P. 12/239/92, S.P. 12/242/57, S.P. 12/271/85.

162. THAT NO ORDNANCE SHOULD BE EXPORTED EXCEPT THROUGH CERTAIN NAMED PORTS.

First, that no quantyty of ordnance be shipped to passe eyther out of the realme, or from port to port, saving only at Rochester in Kent, at the port of Meeching in Sussex, at the Towre wharfe in the port of London, at Hull in Yorkeshire and at Brystowe. And that all peices which shalbe found lying at any other port, creeke or wharfe be seysed for the Queene unles the owner of the said peices will put in bond in double valew of the peices before the officer that they shall not be shipped away without speciall licence.

That no ordnance be shipped at any of the sayd ports with pretence to be caried to some other part of this realme before the marchant or owner that shall requyre or appoint the sayd ordnance to be shipped have put in bonds with sufficient suerty to her Majesties use before the Customer of the seyd port where they are shipped, in double the valew of the ordnance requyred to be shipped, to make true delyvery therof at the port which he shall name and take his cocket for and to bring backe a certyfycat under the handes of the maior or other cheife officer and the customer and controullour of the sayd port with the towne seale unto yt, that they are so delyvered and this band to be retourned into the Exchecquer.

If that the master and owner of the shippe or barke wherin any ordnance shalbe shipped with such pretence as aforesaid shall likewise and in like sort be bound in double the valew of his fraite to delyver them truly according to his cocket. That no mayor or cheife officer or towne clarke, nor no customer or controullour of any port do presume to sett their towne seale or their hands to any certyfycat which they themselves do not know to be true, upon paine of her Majesties high displeasure and ymprisonment or forfeiture of their offices.

That no ordnance so brought from any of the sayd ports to another port be suffred to be caryed away from the port where yt ys so delyvered but be there retayled for the use of the shipping of that port or other shippes of this realme only, and that to be lykewise upon sufficient bonds to her Majesties use given by the buyer before the cheife officer and customer of that port, that they are for his owne use and that they shall be forthcoming at all tymes when they are requyred, upon a payne both to him that shall carry them away otherwise and to the offcyer that suffers it.

And that all officers do certefy into the Exchecquer all bands which they shall take in these cases within 3 moneths after the taking of them upon a paine allso.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 113/65.

163. BRISTOL MERCHANTS HIRE AN IRISH MASTER FOR A VOYAGE TO SPAIN, 1587.

In August 1587, when few English merchants dared to sail to Spain, Richard Jones and Robert Sandford, merchants of Bristol, who owned the ship Mereman of some 45 tons, made an agreement with William

Herbert of Dublin for 3 voyages. First the ship was to sail to La Rochelle and then back to Dublin. There, Herbert was to take over as master for a voyage to Spain for wines and other goods to be discharged partly at Wexford and partly in England. In these two voyages each of the three was to have a share. The third voyage Herbert was to have the ship to go where he pleased. Herbert said that the ship arrived months late in Dublin and then needed repairs and new tackle. In December, 1587, he sailed to Galicia where he was arrested as an English spy and imprisoned for fourteen months. He had all the expenses of the ship and 16 sailors during that time. On his return in March 1589 he sent 29 butts of sack to Bristol which should have been worth at least £300.

Richard Jones denied that the ship had needed repairs in Dublin or that Herbert had been arrested in Spain.

And aboute the fouretene day of Maye the saide Complainant toke his said viage from the baye of Quenboro in Irelande towards Gallisia in the partes of Spania, the same shippe then beinge as then in good state. And shortlie after the said complainant, as this defendant hath hard, did safflie aryve with the saide shippe and the stocke and goodes of the said defendants therin also, aboute the twentie and seventhe daye of Maye then nexte followinge at the porte of the Groyne in the partes of Spania. And there in shorte time unlade the saide shipp and there solde the most parte of his ladinge marchandize to good markett and gayne. And, moreover, the saide complainant, contrarie to his due alleageance to her Majestie and the trust that this defendant reposed in him, did sell fyve caste peeces of the ordinance of the said shippe, as this defendante hath bene credeblye informed for the service of the Duke of Medina in his viage then made by him agenist Englande and receaved for the same fortie two poundes or there aboutes.

Then he had loaded the ship with pilchards and sailed to Cadiz where he sold them for his own profit before he took on a cargo of oil and wine at St. Mary Port. He discharged the whole cargo at Wexford on his return instead of coming to Bristol and left the ship with the sailors unpaid and no victuals. Even the 29 butts of sack were leaky.

Req. 2/223/53.²¹

164. ALIEN SHIPS IN THE SPANISH TRADE, 1590.

Derrick Derrickson . . . for aunswere saithe that truthe it ys that about the moneth of Aprill, 1590, one Melciar Hurte, merchante estranger, then being resident in the cittie of Bristoll, within the realme of England, did by agreement made in writinge firmed under his owne hande, lett to freighte unto this sayde deffendant the one quarter parte of a certen shipp called the Romewe of Hamborowe in Zelande, whereof was then master under God one Symon Cornelyson, for the

²¹ See also *A.P.C. n.s. xx 61, 159-60. Herbert arrested at the suit of Jones and Sandford.*

takinge and transportinge of certayne goodes, merchandizes and comodities of this deffendant from England unto Aymountie, Cadix, Sainte Lucars and other places in Spayne and partes beyond the seas, to be there sold and ymployed, and from thence againe to be retourned in the said shipp for Englande to the porte of Bristoll aforesayde, for the use and accompte of him this sayde deffendant, and that he, this sayde deffendant, upon such retorne and discharge of his goods and ymployment in the said shippe whomwardes at the saide porte of Bristoll, was then to paye unto him, the saide Melciar, fower poundes for the freight of every tonn, so to be ymployed and retourned for the accompt of this deffendant, within eight daies next after the arryvall and discharge thereof at Bristoll.

Derrickson also arranged for Melchoir to receive 600 ducates from Jaques Nicholas of Seville with which to buy wine for him. Seven butts of sack were sent to London for him and eight to Bristol but Derrickson was not satisfied with this and began a suit against the foreign merchants.

Req. 2/234/33.

165. TRADE FROM SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND THE ISLANDS, 1583-4.

fo. 107.

Bristoll inward.

Goodes and merchandizes brought into the porte from Spayne, Portingall and the Iles of Canaries and Madera by Englishe merchauntes betwene Michaelmas anno xxv Regine Elizabeth and Michaelmas anno xxvj, with the names of the merchauntes and of the shippes with their burdens and also the places from whense the shippes came.

fo. 108r.

21 Oct.	<i>Mergatt of Swansea</i>	19 t. from Cadiz			
	Edward Griffin and others	19 t. raisins	£108	16s.	0d.
14 Nov.	<i>Jesus of Bristol</i>	18 t. from Andalusia			
	William Gittons and others	9 t. 1 p. sack			
		7 t. raisins	43	15s.	0d.
20 Nov.	<i>Gabriel of Bristol</i>	30 t. from Madeira			
	Thomas Aldworth	18 t. green woad	180	0s.	0d.
4 Dec.	<i>Jesus of Barnstaple</i>	35 t. from Andalusia			
	William Snowe and others	35 t. sack			
		50 pieces raisins	12	10s.	0d.
7 Dec.	<i>Pelican of Cardiff</i>	18 t. from Cadiz			
	Richard Jones and others	9 t. 1 p. sack			
		4 t. oil			
		30 pieces raisins	35	5s.	0d.

fo. 108v.

9 Dec.	<i>Gift of God of Bristol</i>	100 t. from Andalusia			
	Robert Kitchin and others	100 t. sack			
9 Dec.	<i>Jonas of Bideford</i>	19 t. from St. Mary Port			
	Thomas Pollington and others	19 t. sack			
10 Dec.	<i>Rowe of Bideford</i>	40 t. from Andalusia			
	Thomas Aldworth and others	41 t. sack			
11 Dec.	<i>Pelican of Barnstaple</i>	50 t. from Andalusia			
	Thomas Aldworth and others	18 t. 1 p. sack			
		347 pieces raisins	86	15s.	0d.
3 Jan.	<i>Minion of Bristol</i>	18 t. from St. Lucar			
	Richard Jones and others	9 t. 1 p. sack			
	William Bolton and others	8 t. oil	56	0s.	0d.
3 Jan.	<i>Pilgrim of Bristol</i>	30 t. from St. Lucar			
	John Barker and others	9 t. 1 p. sack			
	John Satchild and others	13 t. oil	91	0s.	0d.
		6 t. salt	6	0s.	0d.

fo. 109r.

4 Jan.	<i>Maryflower of Newcastle</i>	100 t. from Andalusia			
	Thomas Rowland and others	90 t. sack			
		4 t. oil	28	0s.	0d.
7 Jan.	<i>Mynykin of Bristol</i>	40 t. from Andalusia			
	Michael Pepwell	9 t. 1 p. sack			
	Robert Kitchin and others	20 t. oil	115	0s.	0d.
		6 t. salt	6	0s.	0d.
8 Jan.	<i>God saver of Barnstaple</i>	100 t. from Andalusia			
	William Ellis and others	100 t. sack			
8 Jan.	<i>Bark Newton of London</i>	90 t. from Andalusia			
	Thomas Aldworth and others	79 t. 1 p. sack			
	Nicholas Hickes and others	14 t. oil	98	0s.	0d.
8 Jan.	<i>Mary Grace of Bristol</i>	80 t. from Andalusia			
	Nicholas Blake and others	7 t. sack			
	William Ellis and others	28 t. oil	196	0s.	0d.
		27 t. salt	27	0s.	0d.

fo. 109v.

9 Jan.	<i>Jonas of Bristol</i>	40 t. from Andalusia			
	Thomas Rowland and others	8 t. sack			
	Mathew Haviland and others	17 t. oil	126	0s.	0d.
		9 t. salt	9	0s.	0d.
10 Jan.	<i>Minion of Bristol</i>	120 t. from Andalusia			
	William Gittons and others	9 t. 1 p. sack			
	Michael Pepwall and others	33 t. 1 p. oil	235	0s.	0d.
	William Hickes and others	16 t. oil	112	0s.	0d.
		22 t. salt	22	0s.	0d.

10 Jan.	<i>Hare of Bristol</i>	40 t. from St. Lucar			
	William Ellis and others	19 t. 1 p. sack			
		10 t. salt	10	0s.	0d.
16 Jan.	<i>Judeth of Dartmouth</i>	30 t. from Andalusia			
	Geffrey Babb	19 t. 1 p. sack			
		170 pieces raisins	47	10s.	0d.
16 Jan.	<i>Lion of Spain</i>	30 t. from Malaga			
	Nicholas Skinner and others	2 t. sack			
		380 pieces raisins	95	0s.	0d.
<i>fo. 110r.</i>					
21 Jan.	<i>Unicorn of Bristol</i>	80 t. from Andalusia			
	Thomas Rowland and others	32 t. sack			
	Thomas Pollington and others	13 t. oil	91	0s.	0d.
	William Cutt and others	6 t. oil			
		17 t. salt	59	0s.	0d.
23 Jan.	<i>Toby of Bristol</i>	160 t. from Andalusia			
	John Hopkins and others	134 t. sack			
	John Barker and others	9 t. oil	63	0s.	0d.
6 Feb.	<i>Martha of Bristol</i>	30 t. from Andalusia			
	Henry Gough and others	19 t. sack			
		4 t. oil			
		6 t. salt	34	0s.	0d.
23 Feb.	<i>John of Bristol</i>	24 t. from S.S. ²²			
	John Brown and others	10 t. trayne	43	15s.	0d.
	John Porter	6 C liquorice	3	0s.	0d.
		30000 oranges and lemons	10	0s.	0d.
23 Feb.	<i>Phoenix of Barnstaple</i>	24 t. from Andalusia			
	John Barker and others	9 t. sack			
		12 t. salt	12	0s.	0d.

fo. 110v.

25 Feb.	<i>Jesus of Bristol</i>	18 t. from S.S.			
	William Gittons and others	5 t. wine			
	William Colston and others	5 t. trayne			
		1 t. iron			
		10000 oranges and lemons	29	4s.	2d.
12 Mar.	<i>James Bonaventure of Bristol</i>	26 t. from S.S.			
	William Birde	22 t. wine			
	John Barker	4 t. trayne	17	10s.	0d.
23 Apr.	<i>Saviour of Barnstaple</i>	18 t. from S.S.			
	Thomas Rowland and others	7 t. trayne	30	12s.	6d.
		3 t. iron			
		7 C licoris	15	15s.	0d.

²² The MS. is not clear. This is probably an abbreviation for San Sebastian.

24 Apr.	<i>Jesus of Bristol</i>	18 t. from S.S.			
William Webb		10 t. salt	10	0s.	0d.
24 Apr.	<i>John of Padstow</i>	18 t. from S.S.			
Thomas Rowland and others		4 t. trayne	17	10s.	0d.
		10 C licoris	5	0s.	0d.

fo. 111r.

26 Apr.	<i>George of Tewkesbury</i>	18 t. from Baion			
Robert Wittyer		15000 oranges and lemons	5	0s.	0d.
28 Apr.	<i>Pelican of Bristol</i>	18 t. from Baion			
Richard Jones and others		20000 oranges and lemons	6	13s.	4d.
29 Apr.	<i>Rowe of Bideford</i>	30 t. from Lisbon			
Michael Pepwall		7 t. iron			
		8 t. salt			
		12 t. train	88	10s.	0d.
7 May	<i>Peter of Bristol</i>	16 t. from S.S.			
Edward Bastian and others		4 t. train	17	10s.	0d.
		10000 oranges and lemons	6	13s.	4d.
11 May	<i>Jonas of Bideford</i>	18 t. from the Porte of Portugal			
William Ellis		11 t. salt	11	0s.	0d.
		10000 oranges and lemons	3	6s.	8d.

fo. 111v.

13 May	<i>George of Bristol</i>	16 t. from Lisbon			
Edward Bastian and others		10 t. salt	10	0s.	0d.
14 May	<i>Joseph of Bristol</i>	80 t. from Andalusia			
Robert Kitchin and others		50 t. sack			
15 May	<i>Pelican of Barnstaple</i>	40 t. from Lisbon			
William Salter and others		4 t. oil	28	0s.	0d.
		25 t. salt	25	0s.	0d.
16 May	<i>Bark Lambton of Bricklesey</i>	80 t. from Lisbon			
Agnatio Buckford		60 t. salt	60	0s.	0d.
18 May	<i>Mary flower of Bristol</i>	80 t. from Lisbon			
Thomas James and others		60 t. salt	60	0s.	0d.
22 May	<i>John of Bristol</i>	24 t. from SS.			
William Gittons and others		8 t. train	35	0s.	0d.
		10000 oranges and lemons	3	6s.	8d.
1 June	<i>Rose of Bristol</i>	40 t. from Avero			
Thomas Pollington and others		30 t. salt	30	0s.	0d.

fo. 112 r.

1 June	<i>Pilgrim of Bristol</i>	30 t. from Lisbon			
William Salterne and others		18 t. salt	18	0s.	0d.
		6 t. oil	42	0s.	0d.
7 June	<i>Minion of Bristol</i>	120 t. from Lisbon			
William Gittons and others		10 t. oil	70	0s.	0d.
William Colston and others		6 t. oil	42	0s.	0d.
		80 t. salt	80	0s.	0d.

30 June	<i>Merlyn of Bideford</i>	18 t. from St. Michaels			
Thomas Aldworth		12 t. green woad	120	0s.	0d.
7 July	<i>Jonas of Bristol</i>	40 t. from Lisbon			
William Salterne and others		30 t. salt	30	0s.	0d.
		4 t. oil	28	0s.	0d.
8 July	<i>Gabriel of Bristol</i>	30 t. from Funchal			
Thomas Aldworth		5 t. oil	35	0s.	0d.
		20 t. salt	20	0s.	0d.
16 July	<i>Peter of Bristol</i>	16 t. from S.S.			
Andrew Cotterell and others		6 t. rosen and pitch	20	0s.	0d.
William Vawer		2 t. iron	8	0s.	0d.
<i>fo. 112v.</i>					
16 July	<i>Elizabeth of Bristol</i>	30 t. from S.S.			
Michael Pepwall		17 t. pitch	46	13s.	4d.
		9 bags containing 6 C feathers	3	0s.	0d.
		6 bags containing Spanish wool 6 C lb.	20	0s.	0d.
22 July	<i>John of Bristol</i>	24 t. from S.S.			
John Browne and others		3 t. iron	12	0s.	0d.
Richard Colston		1 t. train	4	7s.	6d.
John Barker		6 bags Spanish wool containing 6 C lb.	20	0s.	0d.
John Buckfild					
		10 bags Spanish wool containing 10 C lb.	33	6s.	8d.
Thomas Pollington					
		4 bags Spanish wool containing 4 C lb.	12	6s.	8d.
24 July	<i>Mynykin of Bristol</i>	50 t. from St. Michaels			
Robert Kitchin and others		46 t. green woad	460	0s.	0d.
2 Sept.	<i>Little Minion of Bristol</i>	18 t. from Lisbon			
Robert Sandford		9 t. salt			
		2 t. aquavite	41	0s.	0d.
22 Sept.	<i>Jesus of Bristol</i>	28 t. from Lisbon			
William Sprinte and others					
		15 bags containing 22½ C pepper	187	10s.	0d.
Bridget Cutt and others		4 t. brasil	133	6s.	8d.
Thomas Symondes					
		4 fardels containing 100 pieces calico	33	6s.	8d.
		9 t. salt	9	0s.	0d.
22 Sept.	<i>Marlyn of Bideford</i>	18 t. from St. Michaels			
Thomas Aldworth		12 t. green woad	120	0s.	0d.
25 Sept.	<i>Rowe of Bideford</i>	24 t. from St. Michaels			
Thomas Aldworth		24 t. green woad	240	0s.	0d.
<i>B.M. Lansdowne MS. 41/36.²³</i>					

²³ *The account of exports to Spain, Portugal and the Islands is B.M. Lansdowne MS. 41/43, lead, wheat and cloth are the main commodities.*

166. A DISPUTE OVER FREIGHT CHARGES FROM LISBON, 1500.

To the most Reverend Fader in God, William, electe Archibishope of Cauntrebrey, Primate of al Ingland, kepar of the Kyngis greate seale.

In the moste humble wise shewith unto your good lordship your dayly orator, John Colas of Bristow, merchaunte, that where as in the moneth of Marche in the xvth yere of oure seid soveraigne lordes reigne your seid orator and on William Geffereys of the seid towyne, merchaunte, were joyntely possessed as of there propre goodes off a ship named the *Bonaventure* of Bristowe of the portage of an C ton and above, of which ship Robert Teige than was maistre under God, and so thereof possessed, Hugh Eliott, Humfrey Rypington and dyverse other merchauntes and mariners of the porte of Bristow aforeseid toke as moche frette in the seid ship as extendid to the some of an Cxxij^{li} to saile from the said porte unto the Citee of Luxbon. Wherapon, the seid ship came to the seid Citee and there toke in to her har hoole ladyng and returned therewith to the seid porte of Bristowe in savetie. And therapon the seid William receyved the hoole money that came of the seid frette of the seid merchauntes and mariners and the same converted to his owyne use and no dylyveraunce wold make unto your seid suppliaunte of his parte of the seid frette contrary to al ryght and good conscience, to the greate hurte and damage of your seid orator unlesse your gracious lordship be to hym shewed in this behalfe. And for as moch as parte of the seid rekenynges and agrementes were maid by yend the see and parte of them a thisside the see your seid orator can have noo remedie by the Comen Law of this land. It may please your good lordship to graunte a write of ²⁴ to the seid William to be directed to appere afore the Kyng in his Chauncery at a certen day and under a certen payne by your good lordship to be lymytted to awnswere to the premiss and farther to do as the seid Courte will awarde. And your seid orator shal dayly pray to Almyghti God for the preservacion of your good lordship longe to endure. *Witnesses*, John Robyns, Roberte Foster.

C 1/297/40.

167. A VOYAGE FROM LISBON IN THE *HARRY* OF BRISTOL.

William Penny and Robert Wade, merchants of Bristol, joined the ship at Lisbon and Thomas Smythe, the cape-merchant, asked them to use his cabin and that John Lucell, merchant of London, should also share the cabin. John Morton, Smythe's servant, put into the cabin various goods that Smythe wished to send home to his wife, including 6 C oranges, a small spruce chest which he kept locked and his bedding. Morton also had the key of the cabin and left the door always unlocked. During the voyage, a barrel of wine given to the master and the merchants fell on the chest and broke the lid. John Lucell, who was then lying on the bed in the cabin said to Morton, "Be wise what thou

²⁴ Blank in M.S.

doest for I have thinges of charge in that chest and if thou have any, take good hede, for thou hast the key of the caban in keping and wille not suffre us to have the key nother to lokke the dore nother to open it”.

On Candlemas day Morton came to the others and said that 200 crusados of gold worth £45 had disappeared from a bag in the chest and that no-one should leave the ship when they came to land. All agreed, but Morton himself left the ship at about 5 o'clock the next morning and did not return until the following Thursday when the ship came into Hungrood. That day George Monowe and John Stokes, merchants of Bristol came on board with Thomas Hoskyne, the Water Bailiff of Bristol. William Penny had promised to make a pilgrimage to St. Anne in the Wood and had taken off all his clothes except his gown ready to set out, but the Water Bailiff arrested him, together with Robert Wade and John Lucell, and took them over Dyrdamdowne to prison in Bristol. Then in the ship they broke open all the pots and jars of marmalade and oil, cut open the oranges and onions and a flock bed and threw out all the flock and feathers and broke open and searched all the goods in the ship but found nothing. Penny and the other merchants received nothing for the damage to their goods. They were then sued by Peter Joyes of London the owner of the 200 crusados, who feared that he would get no justice if the case came to court in Bristol.

C 1/209/4-9.

168. EXPORTS TO PORTUGAL.

1515 William ap Howell, deputy of John Westowe, searcher at Bristol, seized on 8 May, a blue kersey, a piece of cloth called coarse cloth bloody colorid and 32 verges of woollen cloth called Irish ray, the goods of John de Mingus, merchant of Portugal.

E 159/294 Mich. 7r.

1529 Thomas Sall on 13 April, at Kingrood, from the George of Tenby, Thomas Howell master, seized 82 woollen broad cloths, the goods of Lodowicus de Ferero, merchant of Portugal, laden for export uncustomed. Ferero pleaded that he had bought and paid for them at Chepstow.

E 159/308 Easter 11r and v.

1540 Tristram Lewkenor reported that William Young, merchant of Bristol, had laden 20 dickers of tanned leather in the Mawdelyn of Bristol at Hungrood for export uncustomed.

E 159/318 Trin. 22r.

1546 John Cole, searcher at Cardiff, seized from a small boat 3 dickers of tanned leather, the goods of Richard Knape of Cowbridge, Glamorgan, and 5¼ kilderkins of butter, the goods of Richard Dawkyn, husbandman, laden to be taken to Hungrood to a Portuguese ship for export uncustomed. When the commissioners came to inspect the goods, the leather had been sold to William Tyndall and the butter to William Jones of Bristol.

E 159/324 Hil. 84r.

169. PORTUGUESE SHIPOWNERS COMPLAIN THEY ARE NOT WELL TREATED.

A petition from the owners of 12 Portuguese ships in London,

That where as the vasalles of the said Kyng of Portugale tyme out of mynd have been resorting as wele unto the said Citie as Bristow and othir places of this noble Royalme and other Jurisdiccions of the same, bringyng with them yerely sugirs, spices and othir merchaundizes, crusados and duccates to great advauntage of the Kynges grace in his customes and subsidies, above the some of two thowsand pound sterlinges,

they have always been well received but now find it difficult to obtain a return cargo, so that many who brought 100 ducats worth of goods will take home scarcely 50 ducats. They ask for the King's favour in securing the speedy completion of their trade.

Sta. Cha. 2/19/309.

170. PORTUGUESE MERCHANTS IN BRISTOL, 1531.

To the right honorable Sir Thomas More, knight, Lord Chaunceller of Englund.

In most humble wise shewithe unto your good Lordshippe your daylly orator, Robert Elyot of the towne of Bristoll, merchaunt, that wheras he and one Aras Ferrandes, borne in Portingall, in the parties beyend the see, the xij day of January in the xxijth yere of the reigne of our soveraygne lord Kyng Henry the viijth at the said towne of Bristol were condicentyd and agreid, that is to say that the same your orator within xv days next and immediatly after his ship cam home from Rochell in the parties beyend the see to the porte of Bristoll to prepare and apperell the same ship by the grace of God reddey to sayll into th'ilond of Surrey, as they bothe were agreid. And the said Aras then and there faithfullye promysed, covenautyd and grauntyd to and with your said orator among other merchandise to lade in the said ship xxx^{ti} ton freight payeng for every ton freyght xxviij^s. And for the performauce of the premisses of and for the parte of your said orator, he beyng unlernyd, bownd hymself in a singull byll obligatorye to the seyd Aras in xj^{li} xij^s and delyvered the same as his dede to hym upon the agrement and condicion before specified. So it is, good lord, that

your said orator immediatly after his seyde ship cam from Rochell to the porte of Bristoll and byfore the said xv days between them agreid, vitallyd, apperelled and appoynted the seid ship with all maner of thynges to the same belongyng redde to sayll accordyng to his promes and . . .²⁵ to the said Aras and requyred hym to make redde and to lade the said xxx^{ti} ton in the said ship. And this to do he then and ther utterly refused.

Elliott lost his voyage, sustaining damages of £40. Aras has begun an action on the bond for £11 12s.

*C 1/629/14.*²⁶

171. FRAUD IN THE IMPORT OF SALT FROM PORTUGAL, 1541.

Richard Tonell, formerly merchant of Bristol,²⁷ giving himself out to be Rodrigus Perez, loaded salt at Sentunall²⁸ in Portugal, in the Katherine of Nantes, owner and master Peter Roche. It was to be carried to the port of Southampton and the freight charge of 20 gold ducats for the freight of 12½ tons of salt was to be paid 18 days after the arrival of the ship. Tonell failed to pay.

A note concerning the case,

Master Hunt, after my hartty comendacyons, thys schalbe too desyre you too holde me excussyd for my soden departure for I ensure you I had moche bysynes thys mornynge and alsoo I feryd that my Lorde Prevy Seale wolde have byn gone oute of hys chambre or I had cum. I shal leve the powr Breten here tyll Master Chaderton²⁹ cam, whyche I doo not doute but wyll dyspache hys besynes as well as though I were here and moche the better for your good helpe for seyng that my Lorde hath George Grene in holde, and I doo not doute but the matter wyll sone be dyspachyd and yf ye thynke nessesary too send prosses for Tonell, the crafty merchante, ye schall allways have men of Brystowe at the Thre Cuppys in Bred Strete and, in myne opynyon, yt schall doo well too brynge theme together before my Lorde whyle Master Chadderton taryeth here and he schall at all tymes have . . .³⁰

*H.C.A. 14/1/39.*³¹

172. ENGLISH CLOTH FOUND TO BE FAULTY IN PORTUGAL.

To the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Awdeley, knight, Lorde Chancellor of Englande.

In most humble wyse shewyth and complayneth unto your good Lordeship your dayly orator John Snyg of Brystow, merchant, that where one John Gerveys of Bristowe aforesaid, grocer, was possessyde

²⁵ *Blank in MS.*

²⁶ *See also C 1/634/6, C 1/1490/26, C 1/667/32-33, C 1/983/13-14, C 1/1427/68.*

²⁷ *A Richard Tonell was Mayor 1528-9.*

²⁸ *Probably Setubal.*

²⁹ *John Chaderton, Vice-Admiral of Southampton.*

³⁰ *MS. is torn off here.*

³¹ *See also H.C.A. 13/92/429, H.C.A. 14/1/97.*

amonge other of a pakke of wollen clothe conteynnyng xxix clothes veray course and of the woorst makynge that can be devysed and, knowynge that your said oratour used the feate of merchandysse in the parties of Spayne, most instantly desyryd your said besechar to take the labors and paynes for the said Gerveys to sell the said clothes for wines of Sherys in the said parties of Spayne for the use of the said Gerveys, if your said oratour cowld and to doo the best therein accordyng to his discrecion, further desirynge your said oratour to take upon hym to provide for the said Gerveys for every one of the said clothes twoo buttes of the said wyne to be rechargyd hyther, to be at the adventure and all maner of costes and charges to be payed and borne by the said Gerveys. Upon trust of whiche promyse to be well and truly performyd by the said Gerveys, your said suppliant receyved the said clothes of the same Gerveys at whiche tyme the said Gerveys had already devysed a byll to be sealyd by your said oratour that your said oratour shulde owe lvij buttes of wyne of Sherys for the said xxix clothes, rehersynge that the same clothes as also the said wyne shuld alwayes remayn at the adventure and all maner costes and charges of the said Gerveys, as by the said byll amonge other thynges in the same conteynyng more at large may appere, faythfully promysynge unto your said oratour that he shulde susteyn no losse by the said bargayn. Upon trust of the true performacion of the said promyse of the said Gerveys, your said oratour, then beyng redy to take his said voyage and . . .³² clothes redy lade to departe, was contentyd and did seale and delyver the same bill devysed by the said Gerveys . . .³² his owne mynde as the deade of your said oratour and after departyd unto the parties of Luxborne and there left the said clothes with one William Sprat to sell and the best of the said clothes, the charges borne, were scantely solde for vj ducattes and a half parte and the residue left unsolde, whiche your said oratour afterward was compelled to trucke and batre theym away for suger. After whiche tyme your said besechar hath well and truly delyvered unto the said Gerveys and his assignes xxij buttes of sekkes and the rest upon accompt to be made betwene your said besechar and the seyd Gerveys . . .

Snyg had often asked Gerveys to come to some agreement about the money owing. He was ready to pay as much as any honest merchant shall awarde but Gerveys had begun an action on the bond and Snyg was afraid that Gerveys was too powerful in Bristol for him to obtain justice there.

C 1/900/27.³³

173. A BILL MADE IN LISBON ACKNOWLEDGING A DEBT, 1550.

Be hytt known be this present that I, John Rycharttes, and Robert Jonns of Brystowe do knowe and confesse be this present that I do

³² The MS. is torn.

³³ See also C 1/453/42, C 1/934/86, C 1/994/23.

owe unto Sampson Hamerslye of the same Cytye, merchantt the some of xx^s. I say twentye shylynges of good and lawffull monnye of Yngland, to be payd at the Puryfycacion of Our Laydye next commyng after the date herof and for the trewe performacion of the same we bothe do bynde our body and goodes where ever hyt be fownd. And because this is of a trewthe we have causyd this byll to by mayd evyne in Luxborne, the fyrst of October in the iiijth yere of the raygne of our soveran lord, Kyng Edward the syxt and have putto bothe our fyrmes, anno 1550.

per me John Rychares

per me Rober Johnes

Endorsed: John Rychartes and Robert Jonys byll dew to John Fernandes of Luxborn.

B.A.O. P.St.J.B./Misc. 3.

174. BRISTOL SHIPS TAKEN IN THE AZORES, 1561.

A letter from Chamberlain to the Queen, 14 July, 1561.

Here is now aryved, ix ships out of th' indyas which in theare waye comeng by the Isles of the Assores met with fyve Englesh ships, iij of Bristow and ij of Barstable laden with woade of that Island, whome they have taken for pyrotes and have brought them into this contrie. I have opened the matter unto the Duke of Alva for to move the Kinges Majestie to have consideracion of the poor merchauntes, which he saith apon furder knoelege from the Capitan that tooke them shalbe hadde.

From S.P. 70/28/45-8.

On the 27 September, 1561,

And allso having the matter of Bristoll and Barstable in so good towardnes before your Highnes lettres came aboute the same, for that, with my sollicitude and the Countie Ferias travaille with his Majestie theare about, the merchauntes and maryners ar with theare ships released to go where they wolle.

From S.P. 70/30/113.

But the ships were not freed, 16 October, 1561,

And for the ships of Bristoll and Barstable, I amme fet with fairre wordes and promises.

From S.P. 70/31/49.

And the men were in poor shape: a letter from Tipton to Sir Thomas Chamberlain,

And the poor men, sum of them lame and destroyd with ther torment they had geven them and besydes that all ther vitalles spoyle and spent.

From S.P. 70/31/52.

175. ANOTHER BRISTOL SHIP CAPTURED, 1564.

Jehus in Seville, the xixth of June, anno 1564.

Right honorable, my dewty consydneyd, with Robert Harvy I wrot your Lordshipe answar unto your letre and gave yow avize of such newes as I cold loren her, and this nowe ys only to gyve your Lordship to understand that thre days past came in to Sent Lucres viij shipes which came owt of Santa Domingo and comynge by the Yelles of Sorys met ther with an Englysshe shipe of Bristo which maye be of the bordon of forty tones and have in her xvij marynars and iij merchants, and had laden aboard her xx pakes of cloth which she browght to sell in the said Ylondes and to lad ther shipe of wood. And so the sayd viij shipes that came from the Yndyes shot at her with ther ordenars and bad her to amayn and so they amayned without resystynge or showtynge of any peces of ordenars and so the toke the men of the said Englysshe shipe and caryd them aboard ther ships and putt them in yerens and handelyd them very crewelly as evar hath byn sen, they beyng trewe men, and her the are nowe in the coman pryson amonge theves, chaynyd to and to together. Your Lordshipe maye be bowld to declare unto the Kynges Magestie and his Cownsell that thes are trewe men and have not offendyd his lawe in no poynt. This daye they ware browght owt of the shipes and put in pryson, which is the cawse that as yet I can send yow no farthar informacion nor testimonyall. As sone as I can have hit I will send hit, the mentyme as aforesaid your Lordship maye bowldly declare yowr mynd in ther behalfe, for I and all that doth fyrm her with me do testify and knowe them to be trewe men and that they have not as aforesaid ofendyd the Kynges lawe in no poynt. The honor and master of the said ship is calyd Watre Dowll, the marchantes Gyles Whit and Richard Baret and Thomas Smyth. Ther is to ships mor of Bristo in the Ylondes ladyng wood and no man of ware at al as knowyt Jesu, who ever preserve your Lordship in helth and honor,

Yours to comand,

Hew Typton, Hughe Bourman, John Dene, Humphrey Ryethorne, Richard Sodal, Thomas Cinquas, William Stevinton, George Holmes, John Cuerton, Robert Vinson, John Tipton, John Cager, William Clarke.

S.P. 70/72/117-19.

176. THE *FALCON* SEIZED IN THE AZORES, 1570.

To the Righte Honorable the Lordes and others of her Majesties most honorable Pryvie Councill.

Humble sheweth and besecheth your honors your poore and humble suppliauntes, John Barker, John Hopkins, John Rowborrowe and John Slowcombe, with others of the Cittie of Bristowe, merchauntes, that whereas your saide suppliauntes in Marche laste

fraighted and laded at Bristowe aforesaide with woollen clothe and karsies a ship called the *Fawlcon* of Barnestabull of the burden of threescore and tenne tonnes, and the same sente into the Ilande of Tersera in the waye and trade of merchaundizes, whereas she aryved and made sales of her goodes and, being laden agayne with oade and bounde for Bristowe aforesaide. So itt is (righte honorable) that in the moneth of Julye laste there arryved att the saide Ilande a greate navye of shippes, gallies and other vesselles apperteyning to the Kinge of Spayne, who in warlicke sorte verie shortelye suppressed the said Ilande and all shippes and vesselles then and there being and amonge the reste tooke the said shipp and goodes amounting to the value of two thowsand and sixe hundred poundes, rainsomyng certein of the marriners and certein others committed to the gallees, and what is become of them all as yett to your suppliauntes is utterlye unknowne, to the greate losse, hindraunce and ympoverishment of your saide suppliauntes. In tender consideracion of the premisses, and the rather for that the saide shipp wente thither onelye in trade of merchaundize and made no manner of resistaunce, nor served there in any warlicke sorte, maye itt therefore please your honours of your accustomed clemency to stande good to your saide suppliauntes, so that by your honours meanes some waye maye be had for the restitution of the saide shippe and goodes and for the delyvery of the said master and marryners, or otherwise to have sufficiente recompence for the value thereof, and they shall daylye praye unto God for your honnors longe and prosperous preservacion.

Endorsed: The humble petitions of John Barker and others of Bristowe.

To take some order that restitution or other recompence may be made unto them for their shippe and goods to the value of 2600^{li} taken from them at the Isle of the Tercera in July last.

*S.P. 15/19/13.*³⁴

177. A PETITION FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE TRADE TO PORTUGAL, 1571.

The declaracion of ceartayn merchauntes whoe have traded Portingall of thear opinion touching the trade of Portingall, with their humble petition for opening the trade thether, as hathe bene accustomed.

Thear is a greater quantity of Suffolke and colloured clothes uttered in Portingall than in Spayne, yea the most parte of the clothes carried into Spayne ar ventyde in Portingall.

³⁴ See also *H.C.A. 24/43/251, B.A.O. 04721/78-9, 81-2, for the case of Dominic Chester, William Gittons and partners and goods seized in the Falcon of Bristol at St. Michael in 1569.*

The lacke of trafficque thether is a great decaye of a nnumber of clothiars and merchauntes and losse to her Majestie in her custome.

And considdering the Inquisicion is so crewelly executed in Spayne the merchauntes shall fynde it comodyous for them to converte the most parte of thear trade into Portingall, which was woonte to be used into Spayne. This trade also of Portingall ys a suare trade and voyed of all suspicion of warres or quarrells with Englande, if one only impediment be taken awaye.

Which impediment is for that ceartayn men of their owne authoritie without licence or salfconduit have entered into his newe conquered counteries agaynst which thear enterprise, as we will not take upon us to write or speak. Even so are we humble sewtors to your honnors that the matter in controversye for trafficque to the Indias maye be so ordered, as we maye have free trafficque to Portingall as we had afore.

We trusting thearfore that her Majestie will have moar regarde to a nnumber of merchauntes who continewally did shipp thether and payed great somes yearly for thear custome then to one or twoo whoe weare never brought upp in tradd of merchaundice and, by thear enterprise have breade unkindnes betwixt the Princes,³⁵ so as traffique into Portingall hath for this twoo years bene closed to the losse of the Queens Majestie and hurt of her subjectes, doo most humbly beseche you to give us leave to enforme your honours that the trade of Indias, being often attempted, hath taken small effecte, but on the contrary muche harme hathe enseeded, for thear hathe bene divers shippes taken and mayny of the choyse mariners of England destroyed, most by deathe throughe the unseasonablnes of the country and some by vyolence . . .

We, your humble suppliantes, being given to understaunde that the King of Portingall wilbe contented to suffer free trafficque into his country as hathe bene accustomed, so as her Majestie will promise that she will not mayntayne any of her subjectes trading into his Indias, but that suche as will make suche attempte may doo it at their perill, do most humblie beseche you that, excepte your honnors knowe any cause to the contrary, that this request maye be graunted, so as therby the commodities of the realme maye be better uttered, her Majesties customes advaunced and the navye mayntaynede,

This is signed by merchants from Exeter, Totnes, Dartmouth and
bye me Domynike Chester, as well in the behalffe of marchaunts of
Brystow as Barstabbell, whiche trade standythe us moste upon.³⁶

S.P. 12/83/37.

³⁵ A reference to William and George Winter whose ship *Mary Fortune* had been seized by the Portuguese in Guinea, see R. G. Marsden (ed.) Documents relating to the Law and Custom of the Sea, i (Navy Records Society, 1915), 184-9.

³⁶ Dominic Chester was M.P. for Minehead that year.

178. THOMAS WYNDHAM'S EXPEDITION TO BARBARY, 1552.

Articles concerning the Admyralltie.

22 questions concerning the enforcement of laws concerning crime at sea or on the rivers and the export of ordnance, money or victuals.

The Verdict of the xij men of the Courte of th' Admyraltie . . .

2. The secounde artickill, we doo finde that Thomas Windam, gentillman, departid owght of the port of Bristowe in the moneth of May, anno domini 1552, with a shipp namyd the *Lyon* and a Carvell, which ship and carvell was bownde for Barbbere ladon with marchaundise and in leke manner with monnyssion, as morris pekes in gret nomber, with hand guns, shurtes of maille, with other artillare met for the war . . .

From B.A.O. 00005(1), (2).

26 March, 1552.

The *Lyon* of London, John Kerye master, exit eodem die.

Fraunces Lombarde	95 cloths and 2 ters. without grain
	150 lb. worked tin
	3 doz. felt hats
Alexander Collis	65½ and 2 ters. cloth without grain
Walter Young and Alexander	23 cloths without grain

Other London merchants carried cloth and paper, combs, glasses, counters, needles, scissors, ribbons, gloves, cotton petticoats, painted cloths, beads, brooches, hats, thread, and ropes of counterfeit pearls.

Bristol merchants sent

Hugh Draper	6 cloths and 1 ters. without grain
Giles White	6 cloths without grain
Francis Codrington, Robert Halton, Robert Butler	54 cloths and 1 ters. without grain

From E 122/22/8.

179. A TRADING VOYAGE TO GUINEA, 1600-1.

18 May, 1601.

The *Gabriel* of Bristol, 70 tons, William Brooke master, from Guinea.

Robert Aldworth, John Aldworth and Thomas Aldworth, merchants of Bristol,

200 Guinea hides (in the hair)	val. £66 13s. 4d.
400 Guinea kippes (in the hair)	£66 13s. 4d.
33 doz. Guinea calf skins (in the hair)	£16 10s. 0d.
16 tons salt	£16 0s. 0d.
170 elephants' teeth	
containing 14 C and 8 lb. weight	£46 18s. 8d.

From E 190/1132/11.

180. A BRISTOL MERCHANT DEALING WITH ROME.

To the right reverent Fether yn God, Thomas Lorde Legatt, Cardenall, Archebissshoppe of Yorke and Chaunceler of Ynglond.

In most humble wise compleynynge shewes to your honorable grace yower dayly orator, John Drew of Bristow, yn the county of the towne of Bristow, that where one William Chalke of Sowthampton, in the county of Hamsher, by the assent and commawndement of yower seid orator yn May last past was too yeres or ther abowtes, at Rome in the parties of beyonde see recevid of one Baptiste Pochena, merchant of Rome foreseid, thre hundred, thre score and thre dockattes of golde to the onely use and behove of yower seid orator and also the same William Chalke, nowe of late at Sowthampton foreseid, reacevid of yower seid orator many and dyvers baletes of fyne ode beyng wurth thre score and ten pownndes of gud and lafull mony of Ynglond, which seid thre hundred, thre score and thre dockattes and balettes of ode shulde be delyverd by the seid William to yower seid orator at all such tyme and tymys as he shulde be requyrid by yower seid compleynaunt. So hit ys most gracyus lorde that yower seid orator hath often and many tymys made request to the same William for havynge the premyssis, which to do and delyver he at all tymys hath refusid and yet doith refuce, contrary to all right and good concyens and, forasmych as the recepte of the same dokattes was at Rome foreseid yn the parties of beyonde see, as well as for that yower seid orator knowith nott the nombre and certentie of the seid balottes of ode, he hath no remedy by the . . .³⁷ and corse of the comen law of this realme.

William Chalke acknowledged a debt remaining from the money borrowed in Rome but denied receiving any woad from Drew.

C 1/498/30-1.

181. A BILL OF EXCHANGE FROM SICILY, 1533.

At Messina, the xix day of June, the vijth indiccion, M v^c xxxiiij.

The . . .³⁸ noble John Aborow, Englysheman, patron of the shyp *Saynt Myghell* standyng at this present tyme in this porte of this noble cytty of Messina charged withe wyne, Mallmeseys that be come from the parties of Candye, and also the noble John Andreas also Englyshman, scribe of the saide shipp, consentyng before bothe joynety and also wyllingly for the laste expedyment or dyspatche of the viage that God willyng the saide patrone and scribe entende with the saide shipp nexte to make, that is to say, departyng from this porte and goyng to the porte of Brystowe, Sowthampton or London of the

³⁷ *The MS. is not clear.*

³⁸ *MS. is torn here.*

parties of Englande, their to dyscharge hur burdon accordyng to the forme of hir contracte of naulyzament. One and every one togyther confessyd to have receavid and hadde by exchaunge and in the name of exchaunge of the noble John Semer, merchaunt allso of England, dwellyng in Messyna, then being present, ducates Clxxxxij of goolde in goolde, large, good and juste weight, redy monney, renowncyng etc. Whiche saide ducates Clxxxxij shall go in all this viage at the adventure and perryll as well of God as of the see and people, of the saide noble John, from the howre that the same shyp shall sale from this porte unto the tyme that ye shall, God wylling, saffely arryve in any of the saide placies. That is to say, in the place in the whiche the same shipp holy dothe dyscharge the sayde burden accordyng to the forme of the saide naulizamentt and dothe caste hur furste ancker, and xxiiij howres expyred and none otherwise nor other manner. Whiche saide vyage made, the saide patronne and scribe as now and as then have constytuted and solely bounde them selfe one and every of them by them selfe to pay, restore and assigne the saide Clxxxxij ducates of goolde in goolde or their juste valew in Englyshe monney to the noble Willyam Ballarde, Englyshe merchaunte dwelling in the saide place of Brystowe, in the name and for the parte of the saide noble John there being presentt, so wylling and commawndyng as above saide within xxx^{ti} daies to be numberyd from the day of the arryvyng of the saide shipp in the place of the hole dyscharge as above saide then nexte folowyng. And in case be that they therein defawlte they woold them selfe to be bounde to all damagies, expensys and interesses, assygnnyng the waies of prolongyng after the rekenyng of iij terreyns for every day and that hit shalbe leafull to the saide noble John or to the saide Wylliam to take the saide monney at exchaunge and rechaunge for iij partes of the worlde at all the damagies, expensis and interesses of the same patronne and scribe. To ...³⁹ which specially together they wilbe bounde by pacte and convenaunte with othe for all whiche premysses to be fullfyllide. And for the dammagies, expenses and interesses what so ever they be hole to be recovered he may uppon the saide detters together, joyently and severally, dooe executyon withe breve hande in personne and goodes with which allso to vary in every lawe and in every parte of the worlde agaynste whome and the tennor of this present contracte they may notwithstanding excepte or comme nor defende nor any other thing alleage, but that they shall firste pay the dett and expenses of the stryffe and withowte notwithstanding any use, but to fulfill the tennor and forme of this present contracte by pacte with othe and ansueryng, promysyng all and byndyng them under personall paine and their goodes together and the saide patronne, hys saide shipp, apparelles, ornamenttes and freghtes and all so renowsyng specially pryvilegies and with othe and mere and ample prevylegies of landes, rois and kynges or vycerois and all other by pacte and with othe etc, and lett it be made in commen forme.

³⁹ *MS. is torn here.*

I, Robert Cressy, notary, testyfy and affyrme by this my subscripcion with my one hande under my signe manuell that this is the true coppie, nothing addyd nor mynysshid that shulde chaunge th' effecte or substaunce of the origynall instrumentt, made as hit apperyd in Messyna.

Robertus Cressy,
Notarius publicus.

P.R.O. H.C.A. 24/7/116-18.⁴⁰

182. A COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1546.

Francis Galiardet, citizen of Messina in Sicily, brought a case to the Admiralty Court against the heirs of Nicholas Thorne. He said that Thorne had formed a company with other merchants, all of Bristol, to trade overseas and particularly to the Island of Sicily and other ports in the Levant, where they appointed Richard King, a London merchant as their factor. He chartered a ship called the Sancta Maria Galiardet, of which Francis was the owner, to fetch from the port of Retino in the island of Crete 170 tons of Cretan wine, viz. a Clxx gret buttes of Malmesey and also 38 of muscatel, the malmesey for the use of Thorne and his partners, to be carried in the said ship to the city of Bristol or to any convenient English port. The charter party was drawn up in Messina in the Spring of 1546.

The Sancta Maria sailed as agreed and brought the 170 casks of Cretan wine to the port of Bristol and also 82 butts of Galiardet's own which were to be sold for him in England. Galiardet claimed from Thorne's estate the freight charges for the company's wine and the whole proceeds of the sale of the other 82 butts of his own.

H.C.A. 14/3/180.⁴¹

183. SOME MORE DISTANT VOYAGES, 1598-1601.

6 November, 1598.

Royal Defence of Bristol, 100 tons, Philip Hill master, from Puerto Rico

Edward Bromley, gent.

85 bags of ginger containing 5 tons.

18 November, 1598.

Grace of Bristol, 30 tons, Stephen Burkhall master, from Newfoundland

John Sannford, Richard Jones, William Powell

15000 Newland fish, 1 ton trayne oil,

100 pieces containing 60 deer skins.

E 190/1132/9

⁴⁰ See also R. G. Marsden, *Select Pleas in the High Court of Admiralty*, i 92-4, (Seldon Society, 1892), and H.C.A. 13/92/143, 266, 24/7/78.

⁴¹ See also H.C.A. 14/4/47, H.C.A. 24/17/151 and H.C.A. 24/18/126 which mentions another consignment of 400 butts of Cretan wine shipped in 1549.

18 April, 1599.

White Swan of Bristol, 40 tons, Francis Cooke master, from Civita Vecchia

William Ellis, William Kellett, John Griffith

42 tons alum.

20 April, 1599.

Mary of St. Malo, 15 tons, Daniel Rouer master, from St. Malo,
Daniel Rouer, al. 2 C Valencia soap

22 April, 1599.

Saviour of Roscoff, 80 tons, Barton Purdue master, from Mallorca,
John Purdue, al. 70 tons oil, 8 serons Valencia soap cont. 10 C,
16 barrels capers cont. 2 C per barrel,
3 bags aniseeds cont. 3 C.

the same day

Black Swan of Bristol,⁴² James Powell master, from Zante
William Ellis, John Aldworth, John Barker, Robert Aldworth,
260 bagges and 72 casks cont. 50 tons currants.

the same day

Mary Fortune of Bristol, 90 tons, Daniel White master, from Venice,
William Ellis, John Webb, John Hopkins,
27 tons brimstone, 38 sacks anneseed cont. 1 C
per bag,

Edward Lewis 12 bags cont. 18 C almonds.

23 April, 1599.

Mayeflower of Bristol, 110 tons, Edward Williams master, from Toulon

William Ellis, John Webb, John Hopkins, Abel Kitchin, Robert Aldworth and company

183 casks cont. 96 tons oil, 14 tons alum.

E 190/1132/9.

16 April, 1601.

Mary Fortune of Bristol, 90 tons, Alexander Seward master, from Cephalonia

William Ellis, John Webb, John Whitson and company

89 casks and 75 bags cont. 76 tons $7\frac{1}{2}$ C currants
val. 229^{li} 5^s.

1 bag nutmeg cont. 130 lb.

Edward Lewis, factor of the ship,
1 ton currants.

22 May, 1601.

Joseph of Bristol, 100 tons, Mathew Honeywell master, from Toulon,
William Ellis, John Whitson, Thomas James and company of Bristol
William Kellett of London,

186 casks cont. 93 tons 1 hd. Provence oil val.
1862^{li} 10^s.

⁴² No tonnage is given.

the same day

Unicorn of Bristol, 130 tons, James Powell master, from Toulon, John Whitson, Thomas James, Thomas Pitcher, Abel Kitchin, Mathew Haviland and company of Bristol,

212 casks cont. 123 tons 1 hd. Provence oil
val. 2465^{li},

John Guy 39 chests white soap cont. 3½ tons,

James Appowell 12 bags aniseed cont. 15 C.

E 190/1132/11.

184. PLACES WHERE THE BRISTOL MERCHANTS COULD TRADE,
c. 1593.

The places of trade which the Bristowe marchauntes may use . . .

Britaine

Gascoine and Guyan, comprehending Rochell, Burdeaux, etc.

Byon and St. John de Luce

Newefownde lande for fishing

Ireland and the fishing there as alsoe the trade of carrying pipe staves
into Speigne from thence

The whole countrey of Barbary and Geney

Marcellia

Tulloone

Sevetaveiza

Genaway

Legorne

The Easte and Weste Indies

portes in the Streights of greate trade
and out of our privildg⁴³

B.M. Lansdowne MS. 73/12.

185. THE COMMON COUNCIL APPOINTS REPRESENTATIVES TO
CONSIDER THE LEVANT TRADE.

20 January, 1601,

Master John Barker, Master Mathew Haveland, Master Robert Aldworthe, Master Eglesfield, Master Kytchin, Master Rowberowe are appoynted to consider of the objections and demaundes made unto the marchauntes of Bristoll by the Governors of the Turkye Companye touchinge the trade into the Levante Seas and to answere the same fourthe with.

B.A.O. 04264(1)45.

19 August, 1605,

It was agreed by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Counsell that Master John Aldworthe and John Gwyne, marchauntes shalbe sente to London to aunswere the lettres touchinge the trade into the Levante Sea, viz. to Venice and Turkey and to conferre there touchinge the same with the marchauntes of London and such others as are appoyntid to deale for the same trades.

B.A.O. 04264(1)99.

⁴³ This may indicate that the document is part of the Levant Company's case against sharing their trade with the Bristol men. See pp. 7-8, 25, 37-8.

APPENDIX 1

SHIPS OWNED BY BRISTOL MEN DURING THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY¹

	<i>under 20 t.</i>	<i>20-49</i>	<i>50-79</i>	<i>80-99</i>	<i>100- 149</i>	<i>150- 199</i>	<i>200- 249</i>	<i>250 & over</i>	<i>not known</i>	<i>Total</i>
1501-10					4	1			28	33
1511-20			2	2	8	1			15	28
1521-30			1		4	2		2	21	30
1531-40			1		7	3		3	20	34
1541-50	1	1			4	6		2	21	35
1551-60	1	3	1		8	7		4	32	56
1561-70	5	19	9	3	5	6			21	68
1571-80	2	14	6	1	6	4	1	1	14	49
1581-90	4	19	15	6	5	3	4	1	24	81
1591-1600	18	20	14	12	8	4	3	2	30	111

¹ This information, gathered from many sources, has been compiled only to determine the general trend, since so many guesses have been made concerning the number of ships owned in Bristol and their size. Two things seem fairly certain: there was no disastrous decline in Bristol's shipping at the end of the century and the number of smaller ships in the port was greatly increased. Table 1 can give only a small indication of the wealth of the port since the sixteenth century calculation of tonnage was no more than a rough measure of cargo space and the tonnage of so many ships is unknown. No account is taken here of foreign carriers or of transshipment from other ports. A wealthy merchant community did not necessarily risk its capital in ventures at sea.

APPENDIX 2

TRENDS IN THE INCIDENCE OF SMUGGLING BY
BRISTOL MEN, 1509-1603.

<i>Information in the Exchequer Court – E 159</i>	<i>1509-1558</i>	<i>1559-1603</i>
CLOTH exports	41	45
LEATHER calf skins	25 }	100 }
hides exports	42 }	63 }
fells imports	3 }	2 }
FOODSTUFFS I exports		
wheat, corn, maslin, malt, peas and beans	48	119
FOODSTUFFS II exports fish	5 }	12 }
butter and cheese	35 }	90 }
wax, tallow and candles	5 }	15 }
METAL GOODS exports iron	4 }	24 }
AND COAL coal	2 }	— }
knives and brass pans	2 }	8 }
lead, bell metal and pewter	3 }	26 }
weapons, guns and shot	— }	16 }
OIL imports		
wool and train oil, rosin, black soap, tar, pitch and turpentine	4	9
DYESTUFFS imports	6	7
WINE imports	15	26
FRUIT imports	—	7
SPICES imports	4	11
FLAX AND WOOL imports flax	1 }	1 }
Irish wool	2 }	3 }
Spanish wool	— }	2 }
BULLION exports	7	6
MISCELLANEOUS, including horses, millstones, feathers, hats	6	15
TOTALS	253	605

APPENDIX 3

CLOTH EXPORTS 1485-1603.

Date	Cloths	Date	Cloths	Date	Cloths
		1520-1	2358	1560-1	1324
		1-2	3673	1-2	1055
		2-3	1043	2-3	1343
		3-4	2187	3-4	1119
		4-5	2941	4-5	555
1485-6	3646	5-6	2290	5-6	779
6-7	5387	6-7	2238	6-7	741
7-8	4332	7-8	2103	7-8	1186
8-9	5297	8-9	2050	8-9	386
9-90	7426	9-30	2201	9-70	372
1490-1	6192	1530-1	1802	1570-1	632
1-2	7149	1-2	2793	1-2	812
2-3	5683	2-3	2649	2-3	703
3-4	7503	3-4	2257	3-4	1287
4-5	6880	4-5	2144	4-5	696
5-6	8614	5-6	3573	5-6	845
6-7	4907	6-7	3311	6-7	575
7-8	5812	7-8	2624	7-8	471
8-9	6473	8-9	2163	8-9	463
9-1500	5940	9-40	2407	9-80	729
1500-1	6529	1540-1	3018	1580-1	1180
1-2	5567	1-2	2095	1-2	828
2-3	4453	2-3	1665	2-3	848
3-4	3308	3-4	2351	3-4	320
4-5	3203	4-5	1825	4-5	439
5-6	2735	5-6	2564	5-6	
6-7	3609	6-7	2272	6-7	
7-8	3505	7-8	2006 ¹	7-8	
8-9	2916	8-9	2203 ²	8-9	
9-10	3331	9-50	4271 ³	9-90	
1510-1	3954	1550-1	4253 ⁴	1590-1	
1-2	2790	1-2		1-2	
2-3	2175	2-3		2-3	
3-4	2955	3-4	3490 ⁵	3-4	267
4-5	3827	4-5	2344 ⁶	4-5	545
5-6	3279	5-6	1574 ⁷	5-6	299
6-7	2513	6-7		6-7	638
7-8	2844	7-8	1036 ⁸	7-8	500
8-9	3048	8-9	532	8-9	235
9-20	3439	9-60	1426	9-1600	309
				1600-1	213
				1-2	240
				2-3	286

These figures are taken from the Enrolled Accounts of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, E 356/23-29, except where stated. Those for 1485-1547 are also printed in E. M. Carus Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275-1547*, 109-119.

¹ E 122/22/2² E 122/212/16³ E 122/167/4⁴ E 122/22/4⁵ E 122/23/2⁶ E 122/22/5⁷ E 122/199/5⁸ E 122/199/6.

APPENDIX 4

WINE IMPORTS 1485-1603

<i>Date</i>	<i>Wine (tons)</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Wine</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Wine</i>
		1520-1	3122	1560-1	562
		1-2	1164	1-2	591
		2-3	1395	2-3	1069
		3-4	510	3-4	643
		4-5	810	4-5	615
1485-6	1217	5-6	1523	5-6	193
6-7	1507	6-7	1500	6-7	633
7-8	1682	7-8	838	7-8	861
8-9	2150	8-9	1309	8-9	703
9-90	1712	9-30	1637	9-70	1064
1490-1	2634	1530-1	1557	1570-1	1125
1-2	2371	1-2	1604	1-2	1308
2-3	2590	2-3	1600	2-3	827
3-4	1514	3-4	1795	3-4	807
4-5	1896	4-5	1838	4-5	941
5-6	2167	5-6	1593	5-6	589
6-7	1953	6-7	2045	6-7	940
7-8	2112	7-8	1689	7-8	1143
8-9	2463	8-9	1145	8-9	1430
9-1500	2293	9-40	1678	9-80	1232
1500-1	2232	1540-1	1615	1580-1	1001
1-2	1763	1-2	1556	1-2	1324
2-3	2077	2-3	1081	2-3	1344
3-4	1875	3-4	1631	3-4	1767
4-5	2417	4-5	693	4-5	1438
5-6	2019	5-6	1832	5-6	
6-7	1103	6-7	2633 ¹	6-7	
7-8	264	7-8	1646 ²	7-8	
8-9	2037	8-9	1255 ³	8-9	
9-10	545	9-50	2308 ⁴	9-90	
1510-1	2018	1550-1	2390 ⁵	1590-1	
1-2	1779	1-2		1-2	
2-3	770	2-3		2-3	
3-4	1231	3-4	925 ⁶	3-4	383
4-5	1689	4-5	1798 ⁷	4-5	1014
5-6	1787	5-6	1204 ⁸	5-6	1392
6-7	2408	6-7	3181 ⁹	6-7	1245
7-8	1674	7-8		7-8	1276
8-9	2272	8-9		8-9	1070
9-20	1949	9-60	510	9-1600	1674
				1600-1	1854
				1-2	1259
				2-3	1461

These figures are taken from the Enrolled Accounts of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, E 356/23-29, except where stated. Those for 1509-1547 are also printed in Schanz, ii. 132-3.

¹ E 122/22/1

⁴ E 122/167/4

⁷ E 122/23/4

² E 122/22/2

⁵ E 122/22/4

⁸ E 122/23/9

³ E 122/212/16

⁶ E 122/23/2

⁹ E 122/23/12.

APPENDIX 5

POUNDRAGE VALUATIONS ON MISCELLANEOUS GOODS
IMPORTED AND EXPORTED, 1485-1603

<i>Date</i>	<i>Valuation £</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Valuation £</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Valuation Imports</i>	<i>Valuation Exports</i>	<i>Total £</i>
		1520-1	13346	1560-1	11957	2811	14768
		1-2	9475	1-2	13291	2707	15998
		2-3	9277	2-3	10859	4501	15360
		3-4	8866	3-4	7185	3270	10455
		4-5	10142	4-5	8422	2267	10689
1485-6	9683	5-6	10449	5-6	8540	2681	11221
6-7	9146	6-7	10843	6-7	7335	1928	9263
7-8	11778	7-8	6669	7-8	8141	2901	11042
8-9	15831	8-9	9929	8-9	4870	3127	7997
9-90	13948	9-30	10554	9-70	6877	4275	11152
1490-1	16660	1530-1	12823	1570-1	8036	4038	12074
1-2	14781	1-2	13011	1-2	8408	3176	11584
2-3	12475	2-3	10726	2-3	10166	5178	15344
3-4	16641	3-4	12061	3-4	11714	4885	16599
4-5	13601	4-5	10373	4-5	8564	2772	11336
5-6	17613	5-6	12780	5-6	12612	3623	16235
6-7	10521	6-7	14768	6-7	7131	3497	10628
7-8	12578	7-8	12825	7-8	6523	3579	10102
8-9	13080	8-9	11449	8-9	8186	3284	11470
9-1500	13635	9-40	14067	9-80	6985	4847	11832
1500-1	12518	1540-1	13270	1580-1	8893	7650	16543
1-2	13226	1-2	13543	1-2	7500	5163	12663
2-3	12744	2-3	7562	2-3	6004	4639	10643
3-4	10580	3-4	14129	3-4	5599	3947	9546
4-5	11176	4-5	12800	4-5	5065	3152	8217
5-6	12346	5-6	15657	5-6			
6-7	12124	6-7	13558	6-7			
7-8	10781	7-8	15065 ¹	7-8			
8-9	9597	8-9	15873 ²	8-9			
9-10	11233	9-50	21931 ³	9-90			
1510-1	11508	1550-1	17859 ⁴	1590-1			
1-2	10825	1-2		1-2			
2-3	9812	2-3		2-3			
3-4	12656	3-4	9798 ⁵	3-4	10525	7075	17600
4-5	11226	4-5	11595 ⁶	4-5	20507	4322	24829
5-6	12333	5-6	9093 ⁷	5-6	12217	9406	21623
6-7	13922	6-7		6-7	8445	13175	21620
7-8	9804	7-8		7-8	13033	5880	18913
8-9	13743	8-9	7743	8-9	12249	6653	18902
9-20	10951	9-60	17575	9-1600	14783	4365	19148
				1600-1	19001	6207	25208
				1-2	25722	9567	35289
				2-3	20392	6816	27208

These figures are taken from the Enrolled Accounts of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, E 356/23-29, except where stated. Those for 1509-1547 are also printed in Schanz ii. 64.

¹ E 122/22/2⁴ E 122/22/4⁶ E 122/22/5 and E 122/23/4² E 122/212/16⁵ E 122/23/2⁷ E 122/23/9 and E 122/199/5.³ E 122/167/4

APPENDIX 6

PORTS OF ORIGIN OF SHIPS ENTERING THE PORT

	1503-4	1570-1	1598-9	1601-2
<i>France</i>				
Bayonne	1		2	2
Bordeaux	17	10	10	15
La Rochelle	4	15	9	10
Nantes		1	1	
Oleron		1		3
St. Jean de Luz		15	3	2
St. Malo		3	4	
Toulon			3	2
other French ports	3	4	5	18
<i>Spain and the Spanish Islands</i>				
Northern Spain	4			1
Andalusia	8	5		
Ayamonte		1	1	
Cadiz			5	1
Gibraltar		1		
Huelva				1
Malaga				4
San Lucar		6	4	1
St. Mary Port			1	2
Majorca			1	
Canaries				1
Teneriffe			1	
Puerto Rico			1	
<i>Portugal and the Portuguese Islands</i>		1		
Algarve	2			
Aveiro			2	2
Lisbon	3	4	1	1
Azores		2	4	1
Madeira			1	1
<i>Italy</i>				
Civita Vecchia			1	3
Leghorn				1
Venice			1	1
<i>Levant — Zante</i>			1	
<i>Ireland</i>	121			
Cork		4	1	3
Dublin		1		2
Dungarvan		3		
Kinsale			1	1
Limerick			3	
Ross		1	1	
Waterford		15	13	6
Wexford		3	8	2
Youghal			1	1
other ports		2		1
<i>Scotland</i>		1	1	
<i>Guernsey</i>	1			
<i>Baltic, Flanders, Scandinavia</i>	2		2	2
<i>Newfoundland</i>			10	
	166	99	103	91

APPENDIX 7

PORTS OF DESTINATION OF SHIPS LEAVING THE PORT

	1503-4	1565-6	1598-9	1601-2
<i>France</i>				
Bayonne				1
Bordeaux	10		5	10
La Rochelle	6	23	5	13
Marseilles			4	1
Nantes				2
Oleron				2
Rouen				1
St. Jean de Luz			2	7
St. Malo		1	7	3
Toulon			5	8
other French ports	16	3	8	18
<i>Spain and the Spanish Islands</i>				
Northern Spain, Biscay, Galicia	5	10		
Andalusia	4	2		
Cadiz		2		
Vigo		1		
Cape Verde			1	
<i>Portugal and the Portuguese Islands</i>	1			
Algarve	2			
Aveiro		4		
Lisbon	6	6		
Vila do Conde		1		
Azores				1
Madeira		1		
<i>Italy</i>				
Leghorn			2	6
Venice			2	
<i>Ireland</i>	79	2		
Cork		3	5	13
Dublin				2
Dungarvan		4		
Galway				2
Kinsale				1
Limerick				1
Ross		1	1	
Waterford		5	10	8
Wexford		9	4	1
Youghal		3		3
other ports		3		2
<i>Scotland</i>		1		
<i>Baltic, Flanders, Scandinavia</i>		1		2
	129	86	61	108

GLOSSARY

- ABURGAYNE**, a yellow cloth made in Abergavenny, Monmouth.
- ANCYLLD**, this may be an error for annealed, decorated with enamel.
- AVERIS, AVERIA, AVERAGE**, a Spanish tax first imposed in 1518; also in Mediterranean shipping any duty or tax charged on goods or any charge over and above the freight charge payable by the merchant.
- BALYNGAR, BALINGER**, a small, light, sea-going vessel, apparently a kind of sloop, much used in the sixteenth century.
- BARRING**, fitting a transverse piece of wood to make fast the head of a wine cask.
- BELCHES, BELCHIS**, this may be an old word for bellows.
- BRASIL**, originally a corruption of an oriental name for a dyewood, it was later given to a related species in South America and this gave its name to the country.
- BROKE FELLOWS, BROOK FELLOWS**, inferior sheep skins.
- BURDEUX WAGES, BORDEAUX WAGES**, that part of the sailors' wages which was paid in a foreign port to enable them to ship small quantities of goods home, the sailors' portage.
- BUSKYNES, BUSKINS**, a covering for the foot and leg, a half-boot.
- CALIVER**, a light kind of musket or arquebus introduced in the sixteenth century.
- CAPE MERCHANT**, the merchant who chartered the ship from its owner and then freighted it in shares to other merchants. He remained in charge of the ship throughout the voyage.
- CARRICKE, CARRACK**, a large ship of burden also fitted for warfare.
- CHEKER, CHEKER FRIEZE**, a check patterned woollen cloth made in Ireland.
- CLOKET**, some kind of packet.
- CLOUT NAIL**, a nail with a large, flat head used to stud or 'clout' a surface or to fix leather or cloth to a board.
- CLOVEN SHOT**, split iron shot for ships' guns.
- CONNOSEMENTE, CONOCIMIENTO**, a bill of lading.
- COPLEMENTE, COMPLEMENT**, a ship's full crew or full lading.
- CORDOVAN LEATHER**, a fine leather from Cordoba in Spain from which came the word cordwainer.
- CORETIER, COURTIER**, a broker in Bordeaux, often acting as an interpreter.
- COVYN, COVIN**, a fraudulent agreement, deceit, treachery.
- CROSSE BARS**, shot for ships' guns with an iron bar passing through it.
- DEDMANS, DEADMANS**, on a ship, ropes hanging from the yards, or this may be used as a term for dead-eyes or pulleys.
- DELE**, weak, worthless, aggressive, ill-behaved.
- DEVOYERS**, an obsolete form of devoir, duty, endeavours, addresses, attentions.
- DI. DIMIDIUM**, a half.
- DOWLES, DOULAS**, a coarse linen cloth originally from Doulas in Brittany.
- FELTES, FELTS**, Spanish felt hats.
- FERNAND BUCK**, a reddish brown dye, also called brasil, blockwood or logwood; from a corruption of Pernambuco, Brazil.
- FLOCK**, a material consisting of the coarse tufts and refuse of wool or cotton, or of cloth torn into pieces and used for stuffing beds, cushions or mattresses or for quilting.

FLYEBOATE, FLYBOAT, a small, fast sailing vessel used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially a Dutch flat-bottomed boat.

FORELOCK, LOCK, the iron wedge which forced the chamber home into the breech of the gun.

GARNISHE OF PEWTER, a set of vessels for table use.

GRAYNES, GRAINS, the kermes or scarlet grain, the Portuguese red dye, later applied to cochineal.

GROMMET, GRUMMET, ship's boy, cabin boy or ship's apprentice.

HANDLIN, HANDLINE, line bent to the hand lead, measured at certain intervals with marks from 2 or 3 fathoms to 20.

INDICCION, INDICTION, a cycle of 15 years computed from 312 A.D. used mainly by the Papal Chancery, occasionally by notaries.

KIPPES(1), KELP, a collective name for the large seaweeds which were burnt for their ashes used in the making of soap and glass.

KIPPES(2), the untanned skin of a calf or the untanned hide of any small breed of cattle, or a set of such skins.

KNEES, a naturally crooked timber cut from the crotch of a tree, much used in ship-building.

LANTATHO, ADELANTADO, the governor of a Spanish province.

LEVEN TAFFATIE, possibly a corrupt form of 'Levant taffeta'.

LODEMANAGE, LODEMENAGE, pilotage, the hire of a pilot for conducting a ship from one port to another.

LOWAGE, a charge to be paid by the merchant to the owner at the end of a voyage, possibly connected with the lowering of goods into the hold, as in 'lowage and stowage'.

MASER WOOD, a hard wood, usually maple, often used for drinking cups, in this case for playing tables.

MEDIN, probably from the Spanish 'medio', middle, mean or median.

MERLINE, MARLINE, a small line of two strands, very little twisted, used for seizings.

NAULYZAMENT, a charter party.

NERHAND, nearly, almost.

ODE, obsolete form of 'woad'.

ORCHIL, a red or violet dye prepared from lichens.

PANELLIOS, PANELE, brown, unpurified sugar from the Antilles.

PEEST ARROWES, possibly arrows 'of wildfire', treated with pitch and grease, and often carried on board ship.

PENNY, GOD'S PENNY, the FIRST PENNY, the prime cost, cost price, the first money to change hands in earnest of a bargain or to seal a contract.

PERS, a blue dye.

PERSIDEW, PERSEDEW, PROCEDEW, PROCEDEWE, from the Spanish word 'procedido', proceeds, net profit, result.

PEWKE, PUKE, a cloth dyed with woad, madder and other dyes to produce a colour between russet and black.

PICARD, PICKARD, a large sailing boat or barge formerly used for coast or river traffic.

PLATTE, PLAT, a plan or scheme, design, map or chart.

PLUMPE, obsolete form of 'pump'.

POINTS, fastenings or laces.

POLEDAVIS, POLDAVIS, POLDAVYES, coarse canvas or sacking, linen or sailcloth originally woven in Brittany and named from Poldavide on the south side of Douarnenez Bay.

PRIMAGE, a customary allowance formerly made by the shipper to the master and crew of a vessel for the loading and care of the cargo, sometimes called 'hat money'. Some sixteenth century charter parties mention shoes, a hat or a coat cloth for the master.

PRISAGE, an ancient custom levied by the crown on imported wine.

PURVEYANCE, the requisition and collection of goods and especially of provisions by the crown at a price fixed by the purveyor.

RACK VINTAGE, wines strained off their lees in January and February and sold at the March fair in Bordeaux were thought to be of better quality and clearer than those purchased in the autumn.

RATLYNES, RATLINES, thin ropes used for the small lines fastened horizontally on the shrouds and serving as steps by which to climb the rigging.

RAY, RAYES, a striped woollen cloth, much made in Ireland.

REPLEVIN, REPLEVYN, a restoration to, or recovery by, the owner of property distrained, on security given by him to answer the distrainer in a court of law.

RUGG, a rough, coarse woollen material imported from Ireland, sometimes called 'Waterford rugg'.

SAY, SAYS, a cloth of fine texture resembling serge, in the sixteenth century sometimes partly of silk.

SAYLEMEDDLES, SAILMEDDLES, a rigging term, not identified.

SEWER, SHEWER, an officer of the royal household.

STAMEN, STAMIN, a woollen or worsted cloth used for outer garments, hangings or curtains.

STOCK CARD, WOOL CARD, a wooden head fitted to a stock or support, with bristles or teazel heads to tease out the threads of wool.

STOWAGE, a shipping charge levied according to bulk; see **LOWAGE**.

STROPPADOE, STRAPPADO, a form of torture in which the victim's hands were tied behind his back and secured to a pulley. He was then hoisted from the ground and let down halfway with a jerk.

TERCEL GENTLE, male of any kind of hawk in falconry, especially of the peregrine falcon and the goshawk.

TRAYNE OIL, TRAIN OIL, fish oil, often cod oil from Newfoundland: also oil exuded from trees.

TROW, a clinker built, flat bottomed sailing barge used on the River Severn.

VERSES, VERSSOS, a Portuguese version of the English 'bases', breech-loading ships' guns of various sizes, often used to repel boarders.

WATCHET, a light blue cloth.

WOODBUSH, small boat used on rivers, possibly for carrying wood. The derivation may be from 'buss', a small boat.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

CLOTH

BROAD CLOTH, 28-30 yards long, 63 inches wide and 90 lb weight when fully dried and dressed.

COLOURED CLOTHS, 28-30 yards long, 63 inches wide and 80 lb weight.

WHITES AND REDS of Wilts. Glos. and Som. 26-28 yards long, 63 inches wide and 64 lb (white) and 60 lb (coloured).

ORDINARY KERSEYS, 17-18 yards long and 20 lbs weight.

SORTING KERSEYS, 17-18 yards long and 23 lb weight.

BROAD CLOTH from Taunton, Bridgwater, 12-13 yards long, 63 inches wide and 34 lb weight.

COLOURED BROAD CLOTH of Wilts. Glos. and Som., 25-27 yards long, 63 inches wide and 68 lb weight.

STRAITS, 17-18 yards long, 1 yard wide and 24 lb weight.

WELSH FRIEZE, 36 yards long, $\frac{3}{4}$ yard wide and 48 lb weight.

DOZENS, 12-13 yards long, 63 inches wide and 33 lb weight.

MANCHESTER, LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE COTTONS, 22 yards long, $\frac{3}{4}$ yard wide and 33 lb weight.

ALNE, from the French AUNE, an ell, the English ell plus a nail, $47\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

ELL, the English ell was 45 inches.

FARDELL, a bundle of indeterminate quantity.

VARE, from the Spanish VARA, in England reckoned at 30-33 inches.

VERGE, a yard.

LEATHER

LAST, 20 dickers.

DICKER, 10 hides.

LEAD

FOTHER, $19\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

STEEL

BURDEN, a load of uncertain quantity.

IRON

TON, 20 cwt or 2 pipes

PIPE, 4 hogsheads

C., cwt. 4 qr.

KINTAL, about 100 lb.

QUARTER, 28 lb.

ENDS, bars of iron of about 22-24 lb.

CORN

LAST, 84 bushells.

WEY, 48 bushells.

TIERCE, $\frac{1}{3}$ wey.

BUSHELL, 4 pecks.

PECK, 2 gallons.

FANEGA, HANEGA, HANIC, a Spanish measure of grain, 1·5 to 1·8 bushells.

CAHISSE, a Spanish measure of grain or salt, 12 fanegas, about 18 bushells.

SALT

TON, 40 bushells, Bristol measure.

BUSHELL, 5 pecks.

PECK, 2 gallons.

C of 'St. Martin's measure in France', 20-21 tons Bristol measure.

BUTTER

BARREL, 256 lb including the cask.

FISH

LAST of herrings, 12 barrels, 12,000 fish.

BURDEN, 20-22 fish, 134 fish to the C.

PIPE, PIECE of salmon, an 84 gallon cask.

WINE

TON, TUN, 252 gallons.
PIPE, 126 gallons.
BUTT, 126 gallons (for wines of Spain and Portugal).
TERTIAN, 84 gallons.
HOGSHEAD, 63 gallons.
TIERCE, 42 gallons.
QUARTON, $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons.
KILDERKIN, $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel, usually 16 gallons.
CANTLE, a small amount, a canfull.
POTTLE, 2 quarts.

WOAD

TON 8 bales.
BALE, 2 balettes.
CARG, Spanish measure of weight, a load, sometimes 400 lb., often 2 bales, each of 200 lb. or 8 capassos of woad.
CAPASSO, a large frail or basket used for packing woad.
PIPE, 4 quarterons.
QUARTERON, 4 measures.

SOAP

BARREL, 280 lb.
SERON, a bale of animal hide used for packing the soap, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ 2 C.

FRUIT

SORT, 3 pieces.
PIECE, 4 quarterons.
TUN, 40 pieces of figs.
CARG, 2 pieces Malaga raisins.

RESIN

TON, 20 pieces.
FOUYER, unspecified quantity.

GUNPOWDER

LAST, 24 barrels.
BARREL, 100 lb.

CURRENCY

ENGLISH

MARK 13s 4d.
ANGEL 7s 6d.
NOBLE 6s 8d.
CROWN 5s 0d.

SCOTS

£1 4s 0d. English.

SPANISH

DUCAT 375 maravedis.
REAL 34 maravedis.
£1 English 1500 maravedis.

PORTUGUESE

PORTUGUESE 10 crusados.

CRUSADO 400 res.

REAL 40 res.

BORDEAUX

CROWN OF SUN 36 sous 3 deniers tournois, later 40 sous.

FRANC 20 sous.

HARDI 3 deniers (farthing)

(livres, sous and deniers was the money of account at Bordeaux until 1577).

SICILIAN

TARIN, TERREYN, a silver coin minted in Naples in the late fifteenth century.

DANZIG

PRUSSIAN DOLLAR, a silver thaler or dollar struck first in Bohemia about 1518 and current in Germany in various values during the sixteenth century.

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